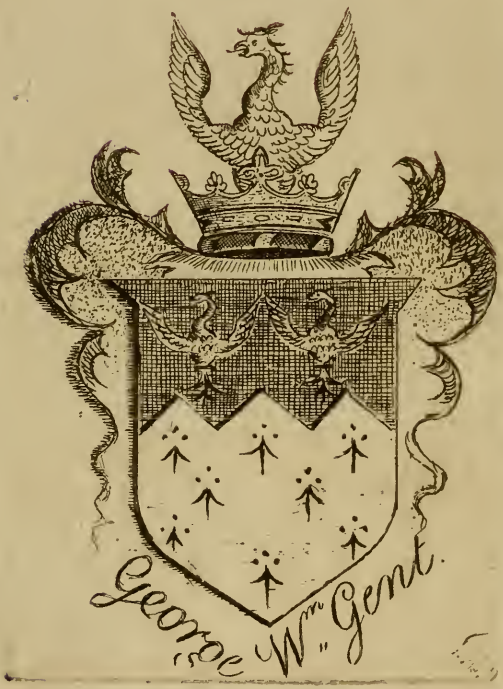
Geo Wm Gent 1802



THE

WORKS

OF

Mr. JONATHAN RICHARDSON.

CONSISTING OF

I. THE THEORY OF PAINTING.

II. ESSAY ON THE ART OF CRITICISM, so far as it relates to PAINTING.

III. THE SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

All corrected and prepared for the Press

By his SON Mr. J. RICHARDSON.

LONDON:

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MDCCLXXIII.

TO

Sir JOSHUA REYNOLDS,

Preſident of the Royal Academy,

AND

Fellow of the Royal Society.

SIR,

A New and improved Edition of the Works of JONATHAN RICHARDSON cannot be inſcribed with

with ſo much Propriety to any Body as to you.

The Author has in his THEORY of PAINTING diſcourſed with great Judgment on the Excellences of this divine Art, and recommended the Study of it with a Warmth approaching to Enthuſiaſm. His Ideas are noble, and his Obſervations learned. I am emboldened to ſay this from a Converſation which I had

had the Honour to have with you on this Subject.

Had RICHARDSON lived to ſee the inimitable Productions of your Pencil, he would have congratulated his Country on the Proſpect of a School of Painting likely to contend ſucceſsfully with thoſe of Italy.

At the ſame Time he would have confeſſed that your admirable Diſcourſes

courſes would have rendered his own Writings leſs neceſſary.

I am, with the greateſt Reſpect,

SIR,

Your moſt obedient and obliged

Humble Servant,

MAY 4,
1773.

The EDITOR.

PREFACE

TO THE SECOND EDITION OF THE ESSAY ON THE THEORY OF PAINTING.

THIS book being out of print, and a new Edition desired, I have retouched it: The publick did forgive the incorrectnesses of an author that was endeavouring to serve them, together with a noble, useful, and delightful art,

but who pretends only to write as a painter and a gentleman; this indulgence however has not encouraged me to let any faults pafs that I have now obferved, fo that I hope their number is fomewhat diminifhed; and I muft do myfelf the right to fay that I have had the pleafure of finding I had nothing to retract; which I fhould not have failed to have done had I difcovered any wrong judgment.

I have made feveral additions, particularly of fome examples from pictures which I had not feen when I firft wrote, or which did not then occur to me; more might have been added, but that they are to be found in great plenty fcattered up and down in the other difcourfes I have publifhed fince the * firft Edition of this.

* They are inferted in this collection.

The

The chapter of the ſublime was then but entered upon, and recommended to ſome other hand: I have now attempted ſomething upon that noble branch of my ſubject, ſtill wiſhing however that one more capable of it would do it better; but this I have done that I might perfect the whole deſign as well as I could. And for the ſame reaſon, and becauſe I find there is more occaſion for it than I thought heretofore, I will take this opportunity a little to proſecute what I have ſometimes only touched, which is, to combat a falſe taſte, and a very low one; a taſte ſo falſe, and ſo low, as to imagine the meaneſt parts of painting to be the whole, or the perfection of it.

The great buſineſs of painting I have often ſaid, and would fain inculcate, is

to relate a hiſtory or a fable, as the beſt hiſtorians or poets have done; to make a portrait ſo as to do juſtice at leaſt, and ſometimes not without a little complaiſance; and this to the mind, as well as to the face and perſon; to repreſent nature, or rather the beſt of nature; and, where it can be done, to raiſe and improve it; to give all the grace and dignity the ſubject naturally preſents, all that a well inſtructed eye can diſcover in it, or which ſuch a judgment can find it is capable of in its moſt advantageous moments.

Neatneſs and high finiſhing; a light, bold pencil; gay and vivid colours, warm and ſombrous; force and tenderneſs; all theſe are excellencies when judiciouſly employed, and in ſubſerviency to the

principal end of the art; but they are beauties of an inferior kind, even when ſo employed; they are the mechanical parts of painting, and require no more genius or capacity, than is neceſſary to, and frequently ſeen in ordinary workmen; and a picture, in this reſpect, is as a ſnuff-box, a fan, or any other toy; theſe properties are, in paining, as language, rhime, and numbers are in poetry: and as he that ſtops at theſe, as at what conſtitute the excellence of a poem is a bad critick, he is an ill connoiſſeur who has the ſame conſideration for theſe inferior excellencies in a picture.

——————Neque enim concludere verſum
Dixeris, eſſe ſatis——————
Ingenium cui ſit, cui mens divinior.——————

HOR.

How much more if, for the ſake of theſe, a picture is eſteemed where the ſtory is ill told, and nature is ill repreſented, or not well choſen: If it be imagined to be good, becauſe a piece of lace or brocade, a fly, a flower, a wrinkle, a wart, is highly finiſhed, and (if you pleaſe) natural, and well in its kind; or becauſe the colours are vivid, or the lights and ſhadows ſtrong, though the eſſential parts are without grace or dignity, or are even ridiculous.

And ſtill more if, though there is ſeen much labour, not thoſe trifles themſelves are well, and the reſt is execrable.

Carlo Maratti, in a very capital drawing I have ſeen, (amongſt many others) in

in the collection of Mr. Davenant *, has repreſented Painting; it is, indeed, a ſort of treatiſe on the art; there is perſpective, geometry and anatomy, each with the motto, 'Tanto che baſti;' antique ſtatues with this, 'Non mai a baſtanza;' over all, the graces deſcending in clouds, the motto here is 'Senza di noi ogni fatica 'è vana.'

A fine thought, grace and dignity, will abundantly atone for the want of even a due application to the leſſer, to the mechanical parts of a picture; but when theſe are only, or chiefly regarded,

* It is now in that truly noble one of the duke of Devonſhire, where the expence itſelf, though worthy of ſuch a fortune, doth not equal the taſte in the conſtant choice of the moſt capital, as well as of the beſt and pureſt ſtile of every maſter.

it puts one in mind of what Hudibras ſays of his fanaticks

> Who with more zeal kept holiday
> The wrong, than others the right way.

THE

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AN ESSAY ON THE THEORY OF PAINTING.

BECAUSE pictures are univerſally delightful, and accordingly made one part of our ornamental furniture, many, I believe, conſider the art of painting but as a pleaſing ſuperfluity; at beſt, that it holds but a low rank with reſpect to its uſefulneſs to mankind.

If there were in reality no more in it than an innocent amuſement; if it were only one of thoſe ſweets that the divine providence has beſtowed on us, to render the good of our preſent being ſuperior to the evil of it, it ought to be conſidered as a bounty from heaven, and to hold a place in our eſteem accordingly. Pleaſure, however it be depreciated, is what we all eagerly and inceſſantly purſue; and when innocent, and conſequently a divine benefaction, it is to be conſidered in that view, as an ingredient in human life, which the ſupreme wiſdom has judged neceſſary.

Painting is that pleaſant, innocent amuſement. But it is more; it is of great uſe, as being one of the means whereby we convey our ideas to each other, and which in ſome reſpects has the advantage of all the reſt. And thus it muſt be ranked with theſe, and accordingly eſteemed not only as an enjoyment, but as another language, which completes the whole art of communicating our thoughts; one of thoſe particulars which raiſes the dignity of human nature ſo much above the brutes; and which is the more conſiderable, as being a gift beſtowed but upon a few even of our own ſpecies.

Words paint to the imagination, but every man forms the thing to himſelf in his own way: language is very imperfect: there are innumerable colours and figures for which we have no name, and an infinity of other ideas which have no certain words univerſally agreed upon as denoting them; whereas the painter can convey his ideas of theſe things clearly, and without ambiguity; and what he ſays every one underſtands in the ſenſe he intends it.

And this is a language that is univerſal; men of all nations hear the poet, moraliſt, hiſtorian, divine, or whatever other character the painter aſſumes, ſpeaking to them in their own mother tongue.

Painting has another advantage over words; and that is, it pours ideas into our minds, words only drop them. The whole ſcene opens at one view, whereas the other way lifts up the curtain by little and little. We ſee (for example) the fine proſpect at Conſtantinople, an eruption of mount Ætna, the death of Socrates, the battle of Blenheim, the perſon of king Charles the firſt, &c. in an inſtant.

Segnius

Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aures,
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus, & quæ
Ipſe ſibi tradit ſpectator. —— HOR. Ar. Poet.

The theatre gives us repreſentations of things different from both theſe, and a kind of compoſition of both: there we ſee a ſort of moving, ſpeaking pictures, but theſe are tranſient; whereas painting remains, and is always at hand. And what is more conſiderable, the ſtage never repreſents things truly, eſpecially if the ſcene be remote, and the ſtory ancient. A man that is acquainted with the habits and cuſtoms of antiquity, comes to revive or improve his ideas relating to the misfortune of Oedipus, or the death of Julius Cæſar, and finds a ſort of fantaſtical creatures, the like of which he never met with in any ſtatue, bas-relief, or medal; his juſt notions of theſe things are all contradicted and diſturbed. But painting ſhews us theſe brave people as they were in their own genuine greatneſs and noble ſimplicity.

The pleaſure that painting, as a dumb art, gives us, is like what we have from muſick; its beautiful forms, colours and harmony, are to the eye what ſounds, and the harmony of that kind are to the ear; and in both we are delighted in obſerving the ſkill of the artiſt in proportion to it, and our own judgment to diſcover it. It is this beauty and harmony which gives us ſo much pleaſure at the ſight of natural pictures, a proſpect, a fine ſky, a garden, &c. and the copies of theſe, which renew the ideas of them, are conſequently pleaſant: thus we ſee ſpring, ſummer and autumn, in the depth of winter; and froſt and ſnow, if we pleaſe, when the dog-ſtar rages. By the help of this art we have the pleaſure of ſeeing a vaſt

variety of things and actions, of travelling by land or water, of knowing the humours of low life without mixing with it, of viewing tempests, battles, inundations; and, in short, of all real or imagined appearances in heaven, earth, or hell; and this as we sit at our ease, and cast our eye round a room: we may ramble with delight from one idea to another, or fix upon any as we please. Nor do we barely see this variety of natural objects, but in good pictures we always see nature improved, or at least the best choice of it. We thus have nobler and finer ideas of men, animals, landscapes, &c. than we should perhaps have ever had; we see particular accidents and beauties which are rarely or never seen by us; and all this is no inconsiderable addition to the pleasure.

And thus we see the persons and faces of famous men, the originals of which are out of our reach, as being gone down with the stream of time, or in distant places: and thus too we see our relations and friends, whether living or dead, as they have been in all the stages of life. In picture we never die, never decay, or grow older.

But when we come to consider this art as it informs the mind, its merit is raised; it still gives pleasure, but it is not merely such; the painter now is not only what a wise orator who is a beautiful person, and has a graceful action is to a deaf man, but what such a one is to an understanding audience.

And thus painting not only shews us how things appear, but tells us what they are; we are informed of countries, habits, manners, arms, buildings, civil and military, animals, plants, minerals; and, in fine, of all kinds of bodies whatsoever.

This

This art is moreover ſubſervient to many other uſeful ſciences; it gives the architect his models; to phyſicians and ſurgeons the texture and forms of all the parts of human bodies, and of all the phænomena of nature. All mechanicks ſtand in need of it. But 'tis not neceſſary to enlarge here; the many explanatory prints in books, and without which thoſe books would in a great meaſure be unintelligible, ſufficiently ſhew the uſefulneſs of this art to mankind.

I pretend not to go regularly through all particulars, or here, or elſewhere throughout this whole undertaking to ſay all that is to be ſaid on this ſubject; I write as the ſcraps of time I can allow myſelf to employ this way will permit me; and I write for my own diverſion, and my ſon's improvement, (who well deſerves all the aſſiſtance I can give, though he needs it as little as moſt young men; to whom I muſt do this farther juſtice, as to own, that I am beholden to him in my turn for ſome conſiderable hints in this undertaking.) And if moreover what I write may hereafter happen to be of uſe to any body elſe, whether it be to put a lover of art in a method to judge of a picture, (and which in moſt things a gentleman may do altogether as well as a painter) or to awaken ſome uſeful hints in ſome of my own profeſſion; at leaſt to perſuade ſuch to do no diſhonour to it by a low or vicious behaviour; if theſe conſequences happen, it will be a ſatisfaction to me over and above. But to return, and to come to what is moſt material.

Painting gives us not only the perſons, but the characters of great men. The air of the head, and the mien in general, give ſtrong indications of the mind, and illuſtrate what the hiſtorian ſays more

expreſsly, and particularly. Let a man read a character in my lord Clarendon, (and certainly never was there a better painter in that kind) he will find it improved by ſeeing a picture of the ſame perſon by Vandyke. Painting relates the hiſtories of paſt, and preſent times, the fables of the poets, the allegories of moraliſts, and the good things of religion; and conſequently a picture, beſides its being a pleaſant ornament, beſides that it is uſeful to improve and inſtruct us, is greatly inſtrumental to excite proper ſentiments and reflections, as a hiſtory, a poem, a book of ethicks, or divinity is: the truth is, they mutually aſſiſt one another.

By reading, or diſcourſe, we learn ſome particulars which we cannot have otherwiſe; and by painting we are taught to form ideas of what we read; we ſee thoſe things as the painter ſaw them, or has improved them with much care and application; and if he be a Raphael, a Giulio Romano, or ſome ſuch great genius, we ſee them better than any one of an inferior character can, or even than one of their equals, without that degree of reflection they had made, poſſibly could. After having read Milton, one ſees nature with better eyes than before, beauties appear which elſe had been unregarded: ſo by converſing with the works of the beſt maſters in painting, we form better images whilſt we are reading, or thinking. I ſee the divine airs of Raphael when I read any hiſtory of our Saviour; and the awful ones he gives the apoſtles, when I read of their actions; and conceive of thoſe actions, that he and other great men deſcribe, in a nobler manner than otherwiſe I ſhould ever have done. When I think of the ſtory of the Decii, or that of the three hundred Lacede-

Lacedemonians at Thermopylæ, I ſee them with ſuch faces and attitudes, as Michel Angelo, or Giulio Romano would have given them; and Venus and the Graces I ſee of the hand of Parmeggiano; and ſo of other ſubjects.

And if my ideas are raiſed, the ſentiments excited in my mind will be proportionably improved. So that ſuppoſing two men perfectly equal in all other reſpects, only, that one is converſant with the works of the beſt maſters (well choſen as to their ſubjects) and the other not; the former ſhall, neceſſarily, gain the aſcendant, and have nobler ideas, more love to his country, more moral virtue, more faith, more piety and devotion than the other; he ſhall be a more ingenious, and a better man.

To come to portraits; the picture of an abſent relation, or friend, helps to keep up thoſe ſentiments which frequently languiſh by abſence, and may be inſtrumental to maintain, and ſometimes to augment friendſhip, and paternal, filial, and conjugal love, and duty.

Upon the ſight of a portrait, the character, and maſter-ſtrokes of the hiſtory of the perſon it repreſents are apt to flow in upon the mind, and to be the ſubject of converſation: ſo that to ſit for one's picture, is to have an abſtract of one's life written, and publiſhed, and ourſelves thus conſigned over to honour, or infamy *. I know not what influence this has, or may have, but me-

* Charles V. ſeeing, in the church-yard of a monaſtery, a magnificent monument of a certain Spaniſh lady, who, in her time, had laboured for nothing leſs than good report, ſaid theſe words to the prior of the convent; 'Is it not enough, father, 'that this poor lady hath done publick penance for four hundred 'years? take her away, and hide her in ſome bye place, where 'her infamy may die after her.'—Ant. de vera, vida de Carlos V.

thinks it is rational to believe that pictures of this kind are subservient to virtue; that men are excited to imitate the good actions, and persuaded to shun the vices of those whose examples are thus set before them; useful hints must certainly be frequently given, and frequently improved into practice: and why should we not also believe, that considering the violent thirst of praise which is natural, especially in the noblest minds, and the better sort of people, they that see their pictures are set up as monuments of good, or evil fame, are often secretly admonished by the faithful friend in their own breasts to add new graces to them by praise-worthy actions, and to avoid blemishes, or deface what may have happened, as much as possible, by a future good conduct. A flattering mercenary hand may represent my face with a youth, or beauty, which belongs not to me, and which I am not one jot the younger, or the handsomer for, though I may be a just subject of ridicule for desiring, or suffering such flattery: but I myself must lay on the most durable colours, my own conduct gives the boldest strokes of beauty, or deformity.

I will add but one article more in praise of this noble, delightful, and useful art, and that is this; the treasure of a nation consists in the pure productions of nature, or those managed, or put together, and improved by art: now there is no artificer whatsoever that produces so valuable a thing from such inconsiderable materials of nature's furnishing, as the painter; putting the time (for that also must be considered as one of those materials) into the account: it is next to creation. This country is many thousand of pounds the richer for Vandyke's hand, whose works are

as

as current money as gold in moſt parts of Europe, and this with an inconſiderable expence of the productions of nature; what a treaſure then have all the great maſters here, and elſewhere given to the world!

It is nothing to the purpoſe to ſay, by way of objection to all this, that the art has alſo been ſubſervient to impiety, and immorality; I own it has; but am ſpeaking of the art itſelf, and not the abuſe of it: a misfortune to it in common with other excellent things of all kinds, poetry, muſick, learning, religion, &c.

Thus painters, as well as hiſtorians, poets, philoſophers, divines, &c. conſpire in their ſeveral ways to be ſerviceable to mankind; but not with an equal degree of merit, if that merit is to be eſtimated according to the talents requiſite to excel in any of theſe profeſſions.

* But (by the way) it is not every picture-maker that ought to be called a painter, as every rimer, or grubſtreet tale-writer is not a poet, or hiſtorian: a painter ought to be a title of dignity, and underſtood to imply a perſon endued with ſuch excellencies of mind, and body, as have ever been the foundations of honour amongſt men.

He that paints a hiſtory well, muſt be able to write it; he muſt be thoroughly informed of all things relating to it, and conceive it clearly, and nobly in his mind, or he can never expreſs it upon the canvas: he muſt have a ſolid judgment, with

* ——— Neque enim concludere verſum
Dixeris eſſe ſatis; neque ſi qui ſcribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora, putes hunc eſſe poëtam.
Ingenium cui ſit, cui mens divinior, atque os
Magna ſonaturum, des nominis hujus honorem.
HOR. Sat. 4. v. 41.

a lively

a lively imagination, and know what figures, and what incidents ought to be brought in, and what every one ſhould ſay, and think. A painter therefore of this claſs muſt poſſeſs all the good qualities requiſite to an hiſtorian *; unleſs it be language (which however ſeldom fails of being beautiful, when the thing is clearly, and well conceived.) But all this is not ſufficient to him, he muſt moreover know the forms of the arms, the habits, cuſtoms, buildings, &c. of the age, and country, in which the thing was tranſacted, more exactly than the other needs to know them. And as his buſineſs is not to write the hiſtory of a few years, or of one age, or country, but of all ages, and all nations, as occaſion offers, he muſt have a proportionable fund of ancient and modern learning of all kinds.

As to paint a hiſtory, a man ought to have the main qualities of a good hiſtorian, and ſomething more; he muſt yet go higher, and have the talents requiſite to a good poet †; the rules for the conduct of a picture being much the ſame with thoſe to be obſerved in writing a poem; and painting, as well as poetry, requiring an elevation of genius beyond what pure hiſtorical narration does; the painter muſt imagine his figures to think, ſpeak, and act, as a poet ſhould do in a tragedy, or epick poem; eſpecially if his ſubject be a fable, or an allegory. If a poet has moreover the care of the diction, and verſification, the painter has a taſk perhaps at leaſt equivalent to that, after he has well conceived the thing, (over and above what is meerly mechanical,

* ——————Cui lecta potenter erit res,
Nec facundia deſeret hunc, nec lucidus ordo.
HOR. A. P. 40.

† Ut pictora poeſis. HOR. A. P.

and

and other particulars, which ſhall be ſpoken to preſently) and that is, the knowledge of the nature, and effects of colours, lights, ſhadows, reflections, &c. And as his buſineſs is not to compoſe one Iliad, or one Æneid only, but perhaps many, he muſt be furniſhed with a vaſt ſtock of poetical, as well as hiſtorical learning.

Beſides all this, it is abſolutely neceſſary to a hiſtory-painter that he underſtand anatomy, oſteology, geometry, perſpective, architecture, and many other ſciences which the hiſtorian, or poet, has no occaſion to know.

He muſt moreover not only ſee, but thoroughly ſtudy the works of the moſt excellent maſters in painting, and ſculpture, ancient, and modern; for though ſome few have gone vaſt lengths in the art by the ſtrength of their own genius, without foreign aſſiſtance, theſe are prodigies, the like ſucceſs is not ordinarily to be expected; nor have even theſe done what probably they would have done with the advantages the ſtudy of other mens works would have given them. I leave Vaſari and Bellori * to diſpute whether Raphael was beholden to Michael Angelo's works for the greatneſs of his ſtyle, but that he improved upon his coming to Rome, and made advantages from what he ſaw there is inconteſtable †. Nor am I certain that Coregio ſaw the S. Cecilia of Raphael at Bologna, as has been aſſerted; but that he would have been the better for it if he had ſeen that, and other works of that maſter, I can eaſily believe.

* See Bellori, deſcriſſione delle magini depinte da Raphaelle nelle camere del vaticano. p. 86, &c.

† See a diſſertation on this queſtion, publiſhed by Monſ. Crorat.

To

To be a good face-painter, a degree of the hiſtorical, and poetical genius is requiſite, and a great meaſure of the other talents, and advantages which a good hiſtory-painter muſt poſſeſs: nay ſome of them, particularly colouring, he ought to have in greater perfection than is abſolutely neceſſary for a hiſtory-painter.

It is not enough to make a tame, inſipid reſemblance of the features, ſo that every body ſhall know whom the picture was intended for, nor even to make the picture what is often ſaid to be prodigious like: (this is often done by the loweſt of face-painters, but then it is ever with the air of a fool, and an unbred perſon;) a portrait-painter muſt underſtand mankind, and enter into their characters, and expreſs their minds as well as their faces: and as his buſineſs is chiefly with people of condition, he muſt think as a gentleman, and a man of ſenſe, or it will be impoſſible to give ſuch their true, and proper reſemblances.

But if a painter of this kind is not obliged to take in ſuch a compaſs of knowledge as he that paints hiſtory, and that the latter upon ſome accounts is the nobler employment, upon others the preference is due to the portrait-painter; and the peculiar difficulties ſuch a one has to encounter will perhaps balance what he is excuſed from. He is chiefly concerned with the nobleſt, and moſt beautiful part of human nature, the face; and is obliged to the utmoſt exactneſs. The hiſtorical painter is allowed vaſt liberties; if he is to give life, and greatneſs, and grace to his figures, and the airs of his heads, he may chuſe what faces, and figures he pleaſes; but the other muſt give all that (in ſome degree at leaſt) to ſubjects where it is not always to be found; and muſt find, or make

variety

variety in much narrower bounds than the hiſtorian has to range in.

Add to all this, that the works of the portrait-painter muſt be ſeen in all the periods of beginning, and progreſs, as well when finiſhed, as when they are not, oftener than when they are fit to be ſeen, and yet judged of, and criticiſed upon, as if the artiſt had given his laſt hand to them, and by all ſorts of people; nor is he always at liberty to follow his own judgment. He is moreover frequently diſappointed, obliged to wait till the vigour of his fancy is gone off, and to give over when it is ſtrong, and lively. Theſe things, and ſeveral others which I forbear to mention, oftentimes try a man's philoſophy, and complaiſance, and add to the merit of him that ſucceeds in this kind of painting.

A painter muſt not only be a poet, an hiſtorian, a mathematician, &c. he muſt be a mechanick, his hand, and eye, muſt be as expert as his head is clear, and lively, and well ſtored with ſcience: he muſt not only write a hiſtory, a poem, a deſcription, but in a fine character; his brain, his eye, his hand, muſt be buſied at the ſame time. He muſt not only have a nice judgment to diſtinguiſh betwixt things nearly reſembling one another, but not the ſame, (which he muſt have in common with thoſe of the nobleſt profeſſions;) but he muſt moreover have the ſame delicacy in his eyes to judge of the tincts of colours which are of infinite variety; and to diſtinguiſh whether a line be ſtraight, or curved a little; whether this is exactly parallel to that, or oblique, and in what degree; how this curved line differs from that, if it differs at all, of which he muſt alſo judge; whether what he has drawn is of the ſame magnitude with what he

he pretends to imitate, and the like; and muſt have a hand exact enough to form theſe in his work, anſwerable to the ideas he has taken of them.

An author muſt think, but it is no matter what character he writes, he has no care about that, it is ſufficient if what he writes be legible: a curious mechanick's hand muſt be exquiſite, but his thoughts are commonly pretty much at liberty; but a painter is engaged in both reſpects. When the matter is well thought and digeſted in the mind, a work common to painters and writers, the former hath ſtill behind a vaſtly greater taſk than the other, and which to perform well, would alone be a ſufficient recommendation to any man who ſhould employ a whole life in attaining it.

And here I muſt take leave to endeavour to do juſtice to my profeſſion as a liberal art.

It was never thought unworthy of a gentleman to be maſter of the theory of painting. On the contrary, if ſuch a one hath but a ſuperficial ſkill that way, he values himſelf upon it, and is the more eſteemed by others, as one who hath attained an excellency of mind beyond thoſe that are ignorant in that particular. It is ſtrange if the ſame gentleman ſhould forfeit his character, and commence mechanick, if he added a bodily excellence, and was capable of making, as well as of judging of, a picture. How comes it to paſs, that one who thinks as well as any man, but hath moreover a curious hand, ſhould, therefore, be eſteemed in a claſs of men at all inferior? An animal that has the uſe of hands, and ſpeech, and reaſon, is the definition of a man: the painter has a language in common with the reſt of his ſpecies, and one ſuperadded peculiar to himſelf, and exerciſes his

his hands, and rational faculties to the utmoſt ſtretch of human nature; certainly he is not leſs honourable for excelling in all the qualities of a man as diſtinguiſhed from a brute. Thoſe employments are ſervile, and mechanical, in which bodily ſtrength, or ability, is only, or chiefly required, and that, becauſe in ſuch caſes the man approaches more to the brute, or has fewer of thoſe qualities that exalt mankind above other animals; but this conſideration turns to the painter's advantage: here is indeed a ſort of labour, but what is purely human, and for the conduct of which the greateſt force of mind is neceſſary.

To be employed at all will not ſure be thought leſs honourable than indolence, and inactivity: but perhaps, though a gentleman's painting for his pleaſure, without any reward, is not unworthy of him; to make a profeſſion of, and take money for this labour of the head and hand is the diſhonourable circumſtance, this being a ſort of letting himſelf to hire to whoſoever will pay him for his trouble. Very well! and is it more becoming for a man to employ himſelf ſo as that he ſhall thereby be enabled to enjoy more himſelf, or be more uſeful to his family, or to whomſoever elſe he ſees fit, than ſo as it ſhall turn to leſs account, or none at all? And as to letting ourſelves to hire, we are content to own this is really the caſe; and if this hath ſomething low, and ſervile in it, we muſt take our place amongſt men accordingly. But here we have this to comfort us, we have good company, that is, all thoſe who receive money for the exerciſe of their abilities of body, or mind. And if a man looks abroad in the world he may obſerve a great many of theſe; they are in the courts of princes, and of judicature, in camps,

in

in churches, in conventicles, in the ſtreets, in our houſes; they abound every where: ſome whereof are paid for each particular piece of ſervice they do, and others have yearly ſalaries, and perquiſites, or vails; but this alters not the caſe.

Nor is it diſhonourable for any of us to take money: He that ſtipulates for a reward for any ſervice he does another, acts as a wiſe man, and a good member of ſociety: he gives what is pleaſant, or uſeful to another, but conſidering the depravity of human nature, truſts not to his gratitude, but ſecures himſelf a return; and money being in effect every thing that is purchaſeable, he takes that, as chuſing for himſelf what pleaſure, or conveniency he will have; as he to whom he performs the ſervice alſo does when he employs him.

Thus painters, as the reſt, buſy themſelves, and make advantage to themſelves, as well as to others, of their employments; they let themſelves out to hire much alike; and one is a more honourable way than another in proportion to the kind, and degree of abilities they require, and their uſefulneſs to mankind. What rank a painter (as ſuch) is to hold amongſt theſe money-takers I ſubmit to judgment, after what I have ſaid has been conſidered; and I hope it will appear that they may be placed amongſt thoſe whom all the world allow to be gentlemen, or of honourable employments, or profeſſions.

And in fact by the politeſt people, and in the beſt ages, paſt, as well as preſent, the art has been much eſteemed, and painters have lived in great reputation, and ſome of them with much magnificence: nor have thoſe of the ſublimeſt quality thought them unworthy of conſiderable additional honours,

honours, and amongſt the reſt of their converſation, and friendſhip: of which I might give many inſtances.

It is true, the word painter does not generally carry with it an idea equal to what we have of other profeſſions, or employments not ſuperior to it; the reaſon of which is, that term is appropriated to all ſorts of pretenders to the art, which being numerous, and for the moſt part very deficient, (as it muſt needs happen, ſo few having abilities and opportunities equal to ſuch an undertaking) theſe conſequently have fallen into contempt, whether upon account of ſuch deficiency, or the vices, or follies which were in part the occaſions, or effects of it; and this being viſible in a great majority, it has diminiſhed the idea which ought to be applied to the term I am ſpeaking of; which therefore is a very ambiguous one, and ſhould be conſidered as ſuch, if it be extended beyond this, that it denotes a perſon practiſing ſuch an art, for no body can tell what he ought to conceive farther of the man, whether to rank him amongſt ſome of the meaneſt, or equal to the moſt conſiderable amongſt men.

To conclude: to be an accompliſhed painter, a man muſt poſſeſs more than one liberal art, which puts him upon the level with thoſe that do ſo, and makes him ſuperior to thoſe that poſſeſs but one in an equal degree: he muſt be alſo a curious artificer, whereby he becomes ſuperior to one who equally poſſeſſes the other talents, but wants that. A Raphael therefore is not only equal, but ſuperior to a Virgil, or a Livy, a Thucydides, or a Homer.

What I now advance may appear chimerical: In that caſe I only deſire it may be conſidered,

whether it is not a neceſſary conſequence of what went before, and was, and muſt be granted. This I alſo inſiſt upon as my right, if any thing elſe appears to be exaggerated: for my own part I write as I think.

I thought fit to do juſtice to the art of painting in the firſt place; and, before I entered upon the rules to be obſerved in the conduct of a picture, to tell the painter what qualities he himſelf ought to have. To which I will add, (but not as the leaſt conſiderable) that as his profeſſion is honourable, he ſhould render himſelf worthy of it by excelling in it, and by avoiding all low, and ſordid actions, and converſation, all baſe, and criminal paſſions: his buſineſs is to expreſs great, and noble ſentiments; let him make them familiar to him, and his own, and form himſelf into as bright a character as any he can draw. His art is of a vaſt extent, and he ſtands in need of all the time, and all the vigour of body, and mind allowed to human nature; he ſhould take care to huſband, and improve theſe as much as poſſible by prudence, and virtue: The way to be an excellent painter is to be an excellent man; and theſe united make a character that would ſhine even in a better world than this *.

But as a picture may be eſteemed a good, and a valuable one, in which all the good qualities of a picture are not to be found, (for that never happens) and thoſe that are, but in a rank ſhort of the

* The excellence of a poet (ſays Strabo in the fine diſcourſe before his Geography) is of a far other nature than that of an artificer, who aims at nothing that is noble and venerable, but that of a poet is inſeperable from that of the man; and never certainly can there be a good heroic or tragic poet, who is not firſt a good man. See the farther reaſons of this wiſe and judicious writer.

utmoſt;

utmoſt; nay, if a picture have but one of them in a conſiderable degree it is to be valued; painters have a right to the ſame indulgence, and have had it in paſt ages, as well as in the preſent; for whether for their own ſakes, or from principles of reaſon, virtue, good-nature, or whatever other motive the world is not wanting to cheriſh, and reward merit, though in a narrow compaſs, and inferior degrees: we have no reaſon to complain.

Only give me leave to add, that a painter who holds but the ſecond or third rank in his profeſſion, is entitled to an equal degree of eſteem with one in the firſt in another, if to arrive at that inferior ſtation, as many good qualities are requiſite as to attain to the higheſt in that other.

ON THE

ART OF PAINTING.

THE whole ART OF PAINTING conſiſts of theſe Parts:

INVENTION,
EXPRESSION,
COMPOSITION,
DRAWING,
COLOURING,
HANDLING,
AND
GRACE AND GREATNESS.

What is meant by theſe terms, and that they are qualities requiſite to the perfection of the art, and really diſtinct from each other, ſo that no one of them can be fairly implied by any other, will appear when I treat of them in their order; and this will juſtify my giving ſo many parts to painting, which ſome others who have wrote on it have not done. As to thoſe properties in a picture ſo much ſpoken of, ſuch as force, ſpirit, the underſtanding of clair-obſcure, or whatever other there may be, they will be taken notice of hereafter, as being reducible to ſome of theſe principal heads.

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The art in its whole extent being too great to be compaſſed by any one man in any tolerable degree of perfection, ſome have applied themſelves to paint one thing, and ſome another: Thus there are painters of hiſtory, portraits, landſcapes, battles, drolls, ſtill-life, flowers and fruit, ſhips, &c. but every one of theſe ſeveral kinds of pictures ought to have all the ſeveral parts or qualities juſt now mentioned; though even to arrive at that in any one kind of painting, is beyond the reach of any man. Even in drolls there is a difference; there is a grace and greatneſs proper to them, which ſome have more than others. The hiſtory painter is obliged oftentimes to paint all theſe kinds of ſubjects, and the face painter moſt of them; but beſides that they in ſuch caſes are allowed the aſſiſtance of other hands, the inferior ſubjects are in compariſon of their figures as the figures in a landſcape, there is no great exactneſs required, or pretended to.

Italy has unqueſtionably produced the beſt modern painting, eſpecially of the beſt kinds, and poſſeſſed it in a manner alone, when no other nation in the world had it in any tolerable degree; that was then conſequently the great ſchool of painting. About a hundred years ago there were a great many excellent painters in Flanders; but when Vandyke came hither, he brought face painting to us; ever ſince which time (that is, for above fourſcore years) England has excelled all the world in that great branch of the art; and being well ſtored with the works of the greateſt maſters, whether paintings or drawings, here being moreover the fineſt living models, as well as the greateſt encouragement, this may juſtly be eſteemed as a complete and the beſt ſchool for face painting now in the world; and would pro-

bably have been yet better, had Vandyke's model been followed: But ſome painters poſſibly finding themſelves incapable of ſucceeding in his way, and having found their account in introducing a falſe taſte, others have followed their example; and, forſaking the ſtudy of nature, have proſtituted a noble art, chuſing to exchange the honourable character of good painters for that ſordid one of profeſſed, mercenary flatterers; and ſo much worſe than the meaneſt of thoſe, in that they give under their hands, and to be ſeen of every body, what thoſe only utter in words, and to thoſe chiefly whom they find weak enough to be their dupes.

As for the other branches of painting, ſome few of ſeveral nations have been excellent in them; as the Borgognone for battles, Michael Angelo the battaglia, and Campadoglio for fruit; father Segers, Mario de' Fiori, and Baptiſt for flowers; Salvator Roſa, Claude Lorain, and Jaſper Pouſſin for landſcapes; Brower and Hemſkerk for drolls; Perſellis and Vandevelde for ſea-pieces; and ſeveral others. But I am not diſpoſed to enlarge on this article.

OF INVENTION.

BEING determined as to the hiſtory that is to be painted, the firſt thing the painter has to do is, to make himſelf maſter of it as delivered by hiſtorians, or otherwiſe; and then to conſider how to improve it, keeping within the bounds of probability. Thus the antient ſculptors imitated nature; and thus the beſt hiſtorians have related their ſtories. No body can imagine (for example) that Livy, or Thucidides, had direct, expreſs authorities for all the ſpeeches they have given us at length,

length, or even for all the incidents they have delivered to us; but they have made their ſtories as beautiful and conſiderable as they could; and this with very good reaſon, for not only it makes the reading of them the more pleaſant, but their relations with ſuch circumſtances (keeping ſtill rigorouſly nice to fact) are ſometimes more probably the truth, than when nothing more is ſuppoſed to have happened than what they might have had expreſs warrant for. Such an improvement Raphael hath made in the ſtory of our Saviour's directing St. Peter to feed his flock, commonly called the giving him the keys. Our Lord ſeems, by the relation of the Evangeliſt (at leaſt a Roman Catholick, as Raphael was, muſt be ſuppoſed to underſtand it ſo) to commit the care of his church to that apoſtle preferably to the reſt, upon the ſuppoſition of his loving him better than any of the others loved him. Now though the hiſtory is ſilent, it is exceeding probable that St. John, as he was the beloved diſciple, would have expected this honour, and be piqued at his being thought to love his Maſter leſs than St. Peter: Raphael therefore, in that carton, makes him addreſs himſelf to our Lord with extream ardour, as if he was intreating him to believe he loved him no leſs than St. Peter, or any of the other apoſtles. And this puts the ſpectator upon imagining ſome fine ſpeeches that it may be ſuppoſed were made on this occaſion, whereby Raphael hath given a hint for every man to make a farther improvement, to himſelf, of this ſtory.

The ſame liberty of heightening a ſtory is very commonly taken in pictures of the crucifixion; the Virgin is repreſented as ſwooning away at the

ſight, and St. John and the women with great propriety dividing their concern between the two objects of it, which makes a fine ſcene, and a conſiderable improvement; and probably was the truth, though the hiſtory ſays no ſuch thing.

In like manner, when the ſacred body was taken from the croſs, the Virgin-mother is frequently introduced as ſwooning away alſo, when even her being preſent is not authorized by the ſacred hiſtory; yet it being very probable that ſhe that could ſee her ſon crucified (which the ſcripture ſays ſhe did) would ſee him alſo after he was dead, it is a liberty the painter not only may, but ought to take.

An improvement much of the ſame nature is, the angels that are frequently introduced in a nativity, or on other occaſions, the noble, though not rich habit of the Virgin, and the like, though perhaps not altogether in the ſame degree of probability.

But that circumſtance of the Virgin-mother being a ſpectator of the crucifixion of her ſon, ought not to have been introduced, notwithſtanding any advantage it might give the picture, without expreſs warrant from the hiſtory, for reaſons that are obvious; and the like reſtrictions are neceſſary in other ſuch caſes.

One inſtance more of an improvement upon the ſubject well deſerves to be added. I have ſeen a picture of Albani, a madona, the child is aſleep; the ſubject is a common, a plain one; to heighten it the painter has repreſented Chriſt dreaming of his future paſſion. How is this indicated? By placing juſt by his head a ſort of glaſs vaſe, wherein is ſeen faintly, and as it were by reflection (ſeen through

through a glaſs darkly) the croſs, and other inſtruments of his ſuffering*. This is a beautiful thought, uncommon and delicate, and ſpreads the imagination much farther than it would otherwiſe naturally have gone.

As the painter may add to the ſtory for the advantage of it, he may, to improve his picture, leave out ſome things. I have a drawing of Raphael wherein he hath taken liberties of both theſe kinds; the ſtory is the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt on the day of Pentecoſt; (a moſt amazing event! and worthy to be deſcribed by the firſt painter of the world) the tongues of fire on the heads of the inſpired, would have been ſufficient to have informed us of the ſtory, and what part the holy ſpirit had in the affair, and is all that the ſacred hiſtory relates; but he hath added the dove hovering over all, and caſting forth his beams of glory throughout all the void ſpace of the picture over the figures, which gives a wonderful majeſty and beauty to the whole. This is the painter's addition. On the other hand, the ſcripture ſays there were about one hundred and twenty perſons preſent; the whole number, at that time, of the infant church. Now as the bringing in all theſe would have made a crowd of inſignificant figures, the painter hath contented himſelf with taking the twelve diſciples only, with the Virgin and two other women, as repreſentative of all the reſt.

Under the preſent rule are comprehended all thoſe incidents which the painter invents to inrich his compoſition; and here, in many caſes, he hath a vaſt latitude; as in a battle, a plague, a fire,

* Though this thought is beautiful, it is not new, for Parmeggiano had taken poſſeſſion of it in the ſame ſubject. See Vaſari, Part III. Vol. I. 4to. 236. Ed. Girenti.

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the ſlaughter of the innocents. Raphael has finely imagined ſome of theſe (for example) in his picture of the Incendio di Borgo in the Vatican. The ſtory is of a fire of a ſuburb of Rome miraculouſly extinguiſhed by St. Leo IV. Becauſe a fire is ſeldom very great, but when there happens to be a high wind, he has painted ſuch a one, as is ſeen by the flying of the hair, draperies, and other circumſtances that are the conſequence of ſuch an accident. There you ſee a great many inſtances of diſtreſs, and paternal and filial love. I will mention but one, where the ſtory of Æneas and Anchiſes was thought of; they were already out of the great danger, and the ſon carries the old man not only as commodiouſly as poſſible, but with the utmoſt care, leſt he ſhould ſtumble or fall with his precious burthen. I refer you to the print, for there is one of this picture.

The ſame Raphael, in the ſtory of the delivery of St. Peter out of priſon (which by the way is finely choſen to compliment his patron Leo X. the then Pope, for it alludes to his impriſonment and enlargement when he was a cardinal legate) hath contrived four ſeveral lights, two from the two angels, a third from a torch, and the fourth the moon gives; which being attended with proper reflections, and all perfectly well underſtood, produce a ſurpriſing effect. There are other circumſtances finely invented in this picture, for which I refer you to Bellori's deſcription of it. One might give innumerable inſtances to this purpoſe, but let theſe ſuffice.

A painter is allowed ſometimes to depart even from natural and hiſtorical truth.

Thus in the carton of the draught of fiſhes, Raphael has made a boat too little to hold the figures

figures he has placed in it; and this is so visible, that some are apt to triumph over that great man, as having nodded on that occasion; which others have pretended to excuse, by saying it was done to make the miracle appear the greater; but the truth is, had he made the boat large enough for those figures his picture would have been all boat, which would have had a disagreeable effect; and to have made his figures small enough for a vessel of that size, would have rendered them unsuitable to the rest of the set, and have made those figures appear less considerable; there would have been too much boat, and too little figure. It is amiss as it is, but would have been worse any other way, as it frequently happens in other cases. Raphael therefore wisely chose this lesser inconvenience, this seeming error, which he knew the judicious would know was none; and for the rest he was above being solicitous for his reputation with them. So that upon the whole, this is so far from being a fault, that it is an instance of the consummate judgment of that incomparable man, which he learned in his great school the antique where this liberty is commonly taken *.

He hath departed from historical truth in the pillars that are at the beautiful gate of the temple;

* In an eminent manner in the Trajan and Antoninian columns, and on many other occasions, in the finest bas reliefs. And, to note it by-the-bye, it seems to be a strange rashness and self-sufficiency in a spectator or a reader when he thinks he sees an absurdity in a great author, to take it immediately for granted it is such. Surely it is a most reasonable and just prejudice in favour of a man we have always known to act with wisdom and propriety, on every occasion, to suspend at least our criticism, and cast off illiberal triumph over him; and to suppose it at least possible, that he might have had reasons that we are not aware of.

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the imagery is by no means agreeable to the ſuperſtition of the Jews at that time, and all along after the captivity. Nor were thoſe kinds of pillars known even in antique architecture, I believe, in any nation; but they are ſo nobly invented by Raphael, and ſo prodigiouſly magnificent, that it would have been a pity if he had not indulged himſelf in this piece of licentiouſneſs, which undoubtedly he knew to be ſuch.

But theſe liberties muſt be taken with great caution and judgment; for in the main hiſtorical and natural truth muſt be obſerved, the ſtory may be embelliſhed, or ſomething of it pared away, but ſtill ſo as it may be immediately known; nor muſt any thing be contrary to nature but upon great neceſſity and apparent reaſon. Hiſtory muſt not be corrupted, and turned into fable and romance: Every perſon and thing muſt be made to ſuſtain its proper character; and not only the ſtory, but the circumſtances muſt be obſerved, the ſcene of action, the country or place, the habits, arms, manners, proportions, and the like, muſt correſpond. The ſtory of the woman taken in adultery muſt not be repreſented in the open air, but in the temple. When Alexander comes to viſit the family of Darius, now his priſoners, they muſt be ſeen in the tent of their conquered king; yet Paulo Veroneſe, from his ignorance in the uniform account in the hiſtories, hath repreſented them in the open air. If that of the ſame Alexander coming to Diogenes, and the Cynick deſiring him not to deprive him of what he could not give, the light of the ſun; I ſay, if this be painted, the light muſt not be made to come the contrary way, and Diogenes in the ſunbeams. Nor muſt our Saviour be made to help

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to put himſelf into his ſepulchre as I have ſeen it repreſented in a drawing, otherwiſe a good one. Theſe things are too obvious to need being enlarged on.

Every hiſtorical picture is a repreſentation of one ſingle point of time; this then muſt be choſen; and that in the ſtory which is the moſt advantageous muſt be it. Suppoſe, for inſtance, the ſtory to be painted is that of the woman taken in adultery; the painter ſeems to be at liberty to chooſe whether he will repreſent the ſcribes and phariſees accuſing her to our Lord; or our Lord writing on the ground; or pronouncing the laſt of the words, He that is without ſin among you, let him firſt caſt a ſtone at her; or laſtly his abſolution, Go thy way, ſin no more. The firſt muſt be rejected, becauſe in that moment the chief actors in the ſtory are the ſcribes, and phariſees; it is true, Chriſt may appear there with the dignity of a judge, but that he does afterwards, and with greater advantage. In the ſecond our Lord is in action; but ſtooping down, and writing on the ground makes not ſo graceful, and noble appearance as even the former would have done; nor have we here the beſt choice of the actions of the accuſers; the firſt, and moſt vigorous moments of the accuſation being already paſt. When our Saviour ſays the words, He that is without ſin among you, let him firſt caſt a ſtone at her; he is the principal actor, and with dignity; the accuſers are diſappointed, aſhamed, confounded, and perhaps clamorous; and the accuſed in a fine ſituation, hope, and joy ſpringing up after ſhame, and fear; all which affords the painter an opportunity of exerting himſelf, and giving a pleaſing variety to the compoſition; for beſides the various paſſions, and ſentiments

ſentiments naturally ariſing, the accuſers begin to diſperſe, which will occaſion a fine contraſt in the attitudes of the figures, ſome being in profile, ſome fore-right, and ſome with their backs turned; ſome preſſing forward as if they were attentive to what was ſaid, and ſome going off: and this I ſhould chuſe; for as to the laſt, though there our Lord pronounces the deciſive ſentence, and which is the principal action, and of the moſt dignity in the whole ſtory, yet now there was nobody left but himſelf, and the woman; the reſt were all droped off one by one, and the ſcene would be diſfurniſhed.

The picture being to repreſent but one inſtant of time, no action muſt be choſen which cannot be ſuppoſed to be doing in that inſtant. Thus the ſcribes and phariſees, in the ſtory juſt now mentioned, muſt not be accuſing when our Lord was ſpeaking; that was then over, and they muſt appear in that ſituation which they might be then imagined to be in.

Theſe two laſt mentioned rules are finely obſerved by Raphael in his cartons of feed my ſheep, and the death of Ananias, to name no more. In the firſt, the moment is choſen of our Lord's having juſt ſpoken, and S. John's addreſſing himſelf to ſpeak; and in the other, the inſtant of Ananias's fall, and before the people were appriſed of it; in both which, as they are the moſt advantageous that could poſſibly have been imagined, nothing is doing but what might be ſuppoſed to be doing at that inſtant.

I ſhall obſerve moreover on the carton of Ananias, that Raphael hath been ſo ſcrupulous in the obſervation of the Unity of Time, that he hath not introduced the death of Sapphira, which happened

happened immediately after, and was a part of the miraculous event.

It has been attempted to bring a whole ſeries of hiſtory into one picture, as that of the prodigal ſon's going out, his voluptuous way of living, his diſtreſs and return, which I have ſeen thus repreſented by Titian; but this is juſt ſuch a fault as crowding a whole year into one play, which will always be condemned, though done by Shakeſpear himſelf.

There muſt be one principal action in a picture. Whatever under-actions may be going on in the ſame inſtant with that, and which it may be proper to inſert, in order to illuſtrate, or amplify the compoſition, they muſt not divide the picture, and the attention of the ſpectator. O divine Raphael! forgive me if I take the liberty to ſay I cannot approve in this particular of that amazing picture of the transfiguration, where the incidental action of the man's bringing his ſon poſſeſſed with the dumb devil to the diſciples, and their not being able to caſt him out, is made, at leaſt, as conſpicuous, and as much a principal action as that of the transfiguration. This under-ſtory would have made a fine epiſode to the other (though the other would not properly to this, as being of more dignity than the principal ſtory in this caſe) but both together mutually hurt one another.

Raphael hath conducted an epiſode differently on other occaſions. In the carton of the death of Ananias, the principal action is that ſurpriſing event, and, accordingly, this is what immediately takes the eye, and declares itſelf to be the ſubject of the picture; but there are alſo ſome people offering money, and others receiving it, who are ſo intent upon what they are about, as not to ſeem

ſeem (at that inſtant) to know any thing of the matter, though ſo very intereſting. The epiſode is very juſt, and agreeable to the hiſtory, but by no means comes in competition with the principal action. In a holy family, a picture of the ſame Raphael, which I have, the Chriſt, and Virgin are moſt conſpicuouſly diſtinguiſhed, and appear with infinite beauty, grace and dignity; but becauſe S. Elizabeth, and S. Joſeph ſhould not be idle, or not employed worthily (which is frequently the caſe in ſuch pictures) he has a book before him as having been reading, and ſhe is ſpeaking to him as aſſiſting his underſtanding, and he attending to her expoſition; (which indeed, to judge by his air, he ſeems to ſtand in need of.) This diſcourſe is carried on behind the principal figures, and is an action the moſt worthy, and proper that could poſſibly be imagined for theſe perſons, but apparently inferior to that of the principal figures; the Virgin being employed in careſſing, ſuſtaining, and taking care of the divine child; and he, with as great dignity as an infant God incarnate can be ſuppoſed to do, careſſing, and rejoicing with his great mother. Here are two diſtinct actions, but no manner of diſtraction, ambiguity, or competition.

Nor muſt the attention be diverted from what ought to be principal, by any thing how excellent ſoever in itſelf. Protogenes in his famous picture of the ſatyr leaning againſt a pedeſtal, on which a partridge was perching, had painted the partridge ſo exquiſitely well, that it ſeemed a living creature, and was admired by all Greece; but that being moſt taken notice of, he defaced it entirely. That illuſtrious action of Mutius Scævola's putting his hand in the fire, after he had,

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by miſtake, killed another inſtead of Porſenna, is ſufficient alone to employ the mind; Polidore therefore in a capital drawing I have of him of that ſtory, (and which by the way was one of his moſt celebrated works) has left out the dead man; it was ſufficiently known that one was killed, but that figure, had it been inſerted, would neceſſarily have diverted the attention, and deſtroyed that noble ſimplicity, and unity which now appears.

So in the carton of the death of Ananias, the money, that a moment before had been laid at the Apoſtle's feet, is not ſeen for the ſame reaſon; for little circumſtances muſt be avoided, if not abſolutely neceſſary.*

Every action muſt be repreſented as done, not only as it is poſſible it might be performed, but in the beſt manner. In the print after Raphael, engraved by Marc Antonio, you ſee Hercules gripe Anteus with all the advantage one can wiſh to have over an adverſary: So in the picture deſigned by Michael Angelo, and painted by Annibale Carracci, the eagle holds Ganymede to carry him up commodiouſly, and withal to make a beautiful appearance together; the print of which is amongſt thoſe of the pictures of duke Leopold. Daniele da Volterra has not ſucceeded ſo well in his famous picture of the deſcent from the croſs†, where one of the aſſiſtants, who ſtands upon a ladder drawing out a nail, is ſo diſpoſed as is not very natural, and convenient for the purpoſe.

Nor is Raphael himſelf ſo juſt in his conduct of the ſame ſtory as he uſually is; St. John is upon a ladder to aſſiſt, and is receiving the body with great affection and tenderneſs; but it is evi-

* See Strabo, lib. xiv.

† In the church of the Trinita di Monte at Rome.

dent the whole weight of it will fall upon him, which is too much for any one man to manage, eſpecially ſtanding upon a ladder: Nor is there any below to receive the ſacred load, or to aſſiſt him; ſo that ſuppoſing every figure in the poſition as Raphael hath repreſented them, the dead body of our Lord muſt fall upon the heads of the bleſſed Virgin, and the women that are with her. The picture is engraved by Marc Antonio.

No ſupernumerary figures or ornaments ought to be brought into a picture. A painter's language is his pencil, he ſhould neither ſay too little, nor too much, but go directly to his point, and tell his ſtory with all poſſible ſimplicity. As in a play there muſt not be too many actors, in a picture there muſt not be too many figures. Annibale Carracci would not allow above twelve; there are exceptions to this rule, but certainly all the management in the world cannot put together a great number of figures and ornaments with that advantage as a few.

Where the ſtory requires that there be a crowd of people, there may be ſome figures without any particular character, which are not ſupernumerary, becauſe the ſtory requires a crowd. In the cartons there are very few idle figures: Nor are all thoſe ſuch that may ſeem to be ſo; there are two in the carton of St. Paul preaching that are walking at a diſtance amongſt the buildings, but theſe ſerve well to intimate that there were ſome who like Gallio cared for none of theſe things.

So far ſhould the painter be from inſerting any thing ſuperfluous, that he ought to leave ſomething to the imagination. He muſt not ſay all he can on his ſubject, and ſo ſeem to diſtruſt his reader, and diſcover he thought no farther himſelf.

Nothing

Nothing abſurd, indecent, or mean; nothing contrary to religion or morality, muſt be put into a picture, or even intimated or hinted at. A dog with a bone, at a banquet, where people of the higheſt characters are at table; a boy making water in the beſt company, or the like, are faults which the authority of Paulo Veroneſe*, or a much greater man, cannot juſtify.

Raphael, in the picture of the donation of Conſtantine in the Vatican, has put a naked boy aſtride upon a dog in a void ſpace in the fore-ground: What reaſon he had for it I cannot comprehend; it ſeems to be brought in only to fill up that ſpace, which it had been better (at leaſt I think ſo) to have left empty: But certainly in ſuch company, and on ſo ſolemn an occaſion as the emperor making a preſent of Rome to the pope, ſuch a light incident ſhould not have been inſerted, much leſs made ſo conſpicuous.

There is ſomething lower yet, than this, in the carton of giving the keys, which I have often wondered Raphael could fall into, or ſuffer in his picture; and that is, in the landſcape there is a houſe on fire; and, in another place, linen drying on the hedges.

Polidore, in a drawing I have ſeen of him, has made an ill choice with reſpect to decorum; he has ſhewn Cato with his bowels guſhing out, which is not only offenſive in itſelf, but it is a ſituation in which a great and reſpectable character ſhould not be ſeen, although a real and ſtriking circumſtance of the hiſtory†. Such things ſhould be left to imagination, and not diſplayed

* Marriage of Canaan.

† ——————————— quæ
Deſperat tractata noteſcere poſſe relinquit.—HOR. Ar. Poet.

on the ſtage‡. But Michael Angelo, in his laſt judgment, has ſinned againſt this rule moſt egregiouſly.

Theſe reſtrictions being obſerved, there muſt be as much variety in the picture as the ſubject will admit of. In ſome it is abſolutely neceſſary; as in a ſermon, or other addreſs to a multitude, a ſaint diſtributing alms, healing, &c. the paſſions, the attitudes, the conditions, and other circumſtances of the people ſhould be varied as much is poſſible; but naturally, and without affectation. Rembrandt hath ſucceeded admirably in this, as in ſeveral of the other parts of painting in many of his works; particularly in that of our Lord healing the ſick. The work is not crowded, but there are ſeen people of both ſexes, and of all ages and conditions; rich and poor, fat and lean, in all the variety of circumſtances proper to the ſubject. And here are not only thoſe that come for cure, ſome are obſerving what paſſes, and, of theſe, there are friends, enemies, enquirers, ſcorners, and diſputers. But this great genius hath not contented himſelf with all this; among thoſe that come to be healed there is an Æthiopian of quality that is diſeaſed in his eyes, as appears by a bandage over them; and, in a great meaſure, even by the attitude of his head, and the ſet of his mouth; he is attended by ſervants and beaſts of carriage, which add much to the variety I am remarking upon; and all this moreover raiſes the ſubject, by ſhewing how far the fame of Jeſus, and the wonders he performed was ſpread; and what credit was given to thoſe relations in countries far diſtant. I might have given examples to my pur-

‡ ——————— Non tamen intus
Digna geri promes in ſcenam.—HOR. Ar. Poet.

poſe

poſe from the works of ſeveral other maſters, but I made choice of this, not only as being at leaſt equally remarkable with the beſt I could have found, but to do juſtice to one, who though he hath excelled moſt others in ſome of the parts of painting not the leaſt conſiderable, yet having wanted (generally, not always) grace and greatneſs, and adhering to common nature, common to him, who converſed not with the beſt, his ſurpriſing beauties are overlooked in a great meaſure, and loſt with moſt, even lovers of painting, and connoiſſeurs*.

Methinks it would not be amiſs, if a painter, before he made the leaſt drawing of his intended picture, would take the pains to write the ſtory, and give it all the beauty of deſcription, with an account of what is ſaid, and whatever elſe he would relate, were he only to make a written hiſtory; or if he would deſcribe the picture he deſigned as if it were already done. And though perhaps it may ſeem at firſt to be too much trouble, it may in the main ſave him ſome, as well as advance his reputation.

There are pictures repreſenting not one particular ſtory, but the hiſtory of philoſophy, of poetry, of divinity, the redemption of mankind, and the like: Such is the ſchool of Athens, the Parnaſſus, the picture in the Vatican, commonly called the diſpute of the ſacrament, all of Raphael; and the large one of Federico Zuccaro of the annunciation, and God the father, with a hea-

* This was written before Rembrandt came into the immenſe reputation which he then juſtly poſſeſſed; and which is, ſurely, in ſome meaſure, owing to my father's frequent mention of him, as well as here, with admiration and fondneſs.

ven, the prophets, &c. † Such compositions as these, being of a different nature, are not subject to the same rules with common historical pictures; but here must be principal, and subordinate figures, and actions; as the Plato and Aristotle in the school of Athens, the Apollo in the Parnassus, &c.

Now I have mentioned this design, I cannot pass it over without going a little out of my way to observe some particulars of that admirable group of the three poets, Homer, Virgil, and Dante; (for I consider it as it is in the print engraved by Marc Antonio: In the painting Raphael has put himself with them; besides, that it is different in several other things.) ‡

The figure of Homer is an admirable one, and managed with great propriety: He is grouped with others, but is nevertheless alone: He appears to be raised in contemplation, repeating some of his own sublime verses, which he does with a most becoming action; and that peculiarity of his works having been taken from his mouth, as he happened to utter them, and so remembered and written, and afterwards the scattered parts collected and connected together, and formed into the volumes we have, is finely intimated by a young man attending to him, and ready to write what he says.

Behind this great, this only man, stands Virgil and Dante, the former directing the other to Apollo: This is a compliment Raphael has made to Dante, by whose direction he has done this; for in his first canto of hell he says,

O de

† See the print of Cornelius Cort in two sheets.

‡ See Bellori's description of the pictures of Raphael in the Vatican, p. 25.

O de gli altri poeti honore e lume,
Vagliami il lungo ſtudio, el grande amore
Che mha fatto cercar lo tuo volume
Tu ſei lo mio maeſtro, el mio autore;
Tu ſei ſolo colui, da cui io tolſi
Lo bello ſtilo, che mha fatto honore.

In the ſame canto he makes Virgil ſay,

Ond io per lo tuo me penſo e diſcerno,
Che tu me ſegui; & io ſaro tua guida.

Soon after Dante ſays,

Et io a lui; poeta io ti richieggio
Per quello dio——
Che tu mi meni, &c.

And ends the canto,

Allhor ſi moſſe; & io li tenni dietro.

But Raphael has made his beloved Dante ſtill a greater compliment, in placing him with Homer and Virgil; for though he was an excellent poet, his was another, and a very inferior kind of poetry: This too Raphael did by Dante's own direction, in his fourth canto of hell:

Coſi vidi adunar la bella ſcola;
Di quei ſignor de laltiſſimo canto;
Che ſoura gli altri, com aquila uola.
Da chebber ragionato inſieme alquanto;
Volſerſi a me con ſaluteuol cenno;
El mio maeſtro ſorriſe di tanto:
E piu dhonore ancor aſſai mi fenno:
Cheſſi mi fecer de la loro ſchiera.

It appears that Raphael was fond of Dante; for beſides what he hath done here, he hath put him amongſt the divines in his diſpute of the ſacrament, to which he had very little pretence;

beſides that, he calls the three parts of his poem, hell, purgatory, and paradiſe. To return.

In pictures repreſenting the character of ſome perſon, if that perſon is in the picture, it is the principal figure; if not, the virtue he is intended to be chiefly celebrated for, as the principal part of the character, is it.

In thoſe of human life, or where ſome particular leſſon is to be taught, or the like, that which a writer would chiefly inſiſt upon is to be the principal figure, or group.

In all theſe kinds of pictures the painter ſhould avoid too great a luxuriancy of fancy and obſcurity. The figures repreſenting any virtue, vice, or other quality, ſhould have ſuch inſignia as are authorized by antiquity and cuſtom; or if any be neceſſarily of his own invention, his meaning ſhould be apparent. Painting is a ſort of writing, it ought to be eaſily legible. There are fine examples of theſe in the palace of Chigi, or the little Farneſe in Rome: Raphael has there painted the fable of Cupid and Pſyche, and intermixed little loves with the ſpoils of all the gods; and laſtly, one with a lion and a ſea-horſe, which he governs as with a bridle, to ſhew the univerſal empire of love. Bellori hath a fine poetical deſcription in the book above cited, p. 64; and Dorigny has made prints of the whole work.

Innumerable examples of theſe kinds of repreſentations might be given from the works of the ancients and moderns, the former eſpecially; and the iconologia of Ripa is a large collection of ſuch, which therefore I will not enlarge upon; only there is one important inſtance that ought not to be paſſed over, which is that of the true God.

Perhaps

Perhaps the beſt way is to leave it to contemplation, without imagining any form whatſoever. Rubens in a drawing I have has done this finely; angels are hovering on the wing, and ſeem to be rejoicing at ſomething that has happened below (I ſuppoſe it was intended for the upper part of the picture of the nativity): Above theſe appears a great glory, and multitudes of cherubims not regarding what the angels are intent upon, but looking ſtedfaſtly upwards, as if the deity was there in a peculiar manner; and as theſe ways of leaving much to the imagination have great advantages in the vaſt compaſs that is given, one may alſo ſuppoſe he is approaching to honour the event in the lower part of the picture.

But the uſual way of repreſenting God is by a human form. I will not enter into the queſtion, whether this ſhould be done at all, or no, becauſe our church diſapproves of it; but certainly thoſe that do undertake thus to delineate God, ought to ſtrain their utmoſt powers to give him the greateſt dignity they poſſibly can. This Raphael was as capable of as ever man was; but Raphael hath not always been equal to himſelf in this particular, for ſometimes the figure appears to be not only as one would deſcribe the ancient of days, but feeble and decrepid. Giulio Romano in a drawing I have of him of the delivery of the law to Moſes hath avoided this fault, but fallen into another; he has made the face of a beautiful, vigorous old man, but (what one would not have expected from him) there wants greatneſs and majeſty. In the hiſtories of the Bible which Raphael painted in the Vatican, there are ſeveral repreſentations of the deity, which have a wonderful ſublimity in them; and are, for the moſt part, perfectly

fectly well adapted to the Moſaical idea, which was his affair; this God is not our God†; he appears to us under a more amiable view. When the trinity is drawn, eſpecially when the virgin-mother of God is alſo introduced, it is ſomething too much ſavouring of Polytheiſm. I have a drawing of Raphael, where the idea he ſeems to have intended to give, is majeſty and awfulneſs, together with great benignity; not however ſo laviſh of his benefits, but that with our good things there is a mixture of unhappineſs; though ſtill the good abundantly preponderate and manifeſt the great Lord of the univerſe to be an indulgent and wiſe father. This is an idea worthy of the mind of Raphael. The drawing is a ſingle figure of a beautiful old man, not decayed or impaired by age; there is majeſty in his face, but not terror; he ſits upon the clouds, his right hand lifted up giving his benediction; the left arm is wrapped in his drapery, and unemployed, only that hand appears, and reſts on the cloud near his right elbow. A man cannot look upon and conſider this admirable drawing without ſecretly adoring and loving the ſupreme being, and particularly for enduing one of our own ſpecies with a capacity ſuch as that of Raphael's.

† See what archbiſhop Tillotſon ſays on this ſubject, as quoted by Echard in his collection of Tillotſon's Maxims, &c. from his works, p. 21. "The difference between the ſtile of the Old and New Teſtament is ſo remarkable, that one of the greateſt ſects of the primitive church, the Gnoſtics, did, upon this very ground, found their hereſy of two Gods; the one evil, fierce, and cruel, whom they called the God of the Old Teſtament; the other, good, kind, and merciful, whom they called the God of the New. So great a difference is there between the repreſentations which are made of God in the books of the Jewiſh and Chriſtian Religion, as to give at leaſt ſome colour and pretence for an imagination of two Gods."

But,

But, as we are not always to expect a Raphael, I think it is more decent, as being more respectful and submissive, not to presume at all to represent a character that cannot be an object of our senses; and withal, far too sublime for the utmost effort of our conceptions. Accordingly, we often see representations of this sole and universal being, that not only degrade the awful idea, which they always must do, but that are a burlesque of it; as that painter of whom the learned and pious dean of St. Paul's, Dr. Donne, says, "that having "painted a God the father, not according to the "dignity of the subject, but his own well-mean-"ing ignorance, though he had made a very bad "God, he had made a very good Devil."

In portraits the invention of the painter is exercised in the choice of the air and attitude, the action, drapery and ornaments, with respect to the character of the person.

He ought not to go in a road, or paint other people as he would chuse to be drawn himself. The dress, the ornaments, the colours, must be suited to the person and character. I remember a good observation of an ingenious gentleman upon two late painters; "One (he said) could not paint "an impudent fellow, nor the other a modest one, "they put so much of themselves in every thing "they did."

Concerning what sort of resemblances portraits ought to have, opinions are divided; some are for flattery, others for exact likeness.

If the former be received, care must be taken that it be really flattery, and not too apparently so.

Many painters have taken a fancy to make caricatures of people's faces; that is exaggerating the defects,

defects, and concealing the beauties, however preſerving the reſemblance; the reverſe of that is to be done in the preſent caſe, but the character muſt be ſeen throughout, or it ceaſes to be a compliment; it is the picture of ſomebody elſe, or of nobody, and only tells the perſon how different he or ſhe is from what the painter conceives to be beauty. I will allow a poem, but not a romance.

If exact likeneſs is pretended to, all accidents, bad weather, indiſpoſition, &c. muſt be allowed for; and as there are ſome things in nature that art cannot reach, if ſomething be not done to compenſate for that deficiency, the picture will be no more an exact copy of the face than a literal tranſlation will be of the original book. Beſides, whoever aims only at exactneſs will certainly fall ſhort of it. We cannot tell aſſuredly how like the pictures were of thoſe great maſters we ſo juſtly admire, but it appears to be very probable that Vandike, with all his excellencies, fell frequently below the truth; his pictures were doubtleſs exceeding like, but ſurely ſome of them might have been more ſo, by being more graceful.

That admirable family-picture of the Senators of Titian which the duke of Somerſet hath, is finely invented: the eldeſt of the three is apparently the principal figure, and admirably expreſſeth the action, and manner of an old man; the two others are well placed, and in proper attitudes: The boys are got upon the ſteps with a dog amongſt them; a very likely amuſement for them while the old gentlemen are at their devotions, which is their buſineſs! The girls are more orderly, and attend, in appearance, to the affair in hand: the attitudes of the figures in general are juſt, and delicate; the draperies, the ſky, every

every thing throughout the whole picture is well thought, and conducted. Nor is there any appearance of flattery, at leaſt not to a degree as to hurt the reſemblance.

Some ſubjects are in themſelves ſo diſadvantageous as to ſtand in need of ſomething to raiſe their character. Of this I have a fine example in a head of marble which ſeems to have been done for a monument, the face itſelf is ſomething poor, and tho' never ſo well followed would not have pleaſed; the ſculptor therefore has raiſed the eyebrows, and opened the mouth a little, and by this expedient has given a ſpirit, and a dignity to a ſubject not conſiderable otherwiſe; beſides that probably the perſon was accuſtomed to give himſelf ſome ſuch air, and then this has this farther advantage, that it makes the reſemblance more remarkable.

I need not go through the other branches of painting; as landſcapes, battles, fruit, &c. what has been already ſaid is, in their ſeveral ways, applicable to any of theſe: nor ſhall I concern myſelf with them hereafter, when I treat of the other parts of painting, for the ſame reaſon.

There are an infinity of artifices to hide defects, or give advantages, which come under this head of invention; as do all caprices, groteſque, and other ornaments, maſks, &c. together with all uncommon, and delicate thoughts: ſuch as the cherubims attending on God when he appeared to Moſes in the burning buſh, which Raphael hath painted with flames about them inſtead of wings; an angel running, and holding up both arms as juſt raiſing himſelf for flight, of which I have a drawing of Parmeggiano, as well as many other examples of theſe kinds in drawings of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Giulio Romano, Leonardo da Vinci,

Vinci, &c. They are to be found perpetually in the works of the great maſters, and add much to their beauty, and value.

The mention of groteſques ſuggeſts a rule to my mind which I will inſert: it is this, that all creatures of imagination ought to have airs, and actions given them as whimſical, and chimerical as their forms are. I have a drawing, of the ſchool of the Caraches, of a male and female ſatyr ſitting together; there is a great deal of humour in it, ſo as to be a fine burleſque upon Corydon and Phillis. The anatomy figures in Veſalius, are prettily fancied: there is a ſeries of denuding a figure to the bone, and they are all in attitudes ſeeming to have moſt pain as the operation goes on, till at laſt they languiſh, and die: but Michael Angelo hath made anatomy figures whoſe faces and actions are impoſſible to be deſcribed, and the moſt delicate that can be imagined for the purpoſe. "Mr. Fontenelle, in his "dialogue betwixt Homer and Æſop, after Ho- "mer had ſaid he intended no allegory, but to be "taken literally, makes the other demand how he "could imagine mankind would believe ſuch ri- "diculous accounts of the gods? O (ſays he) you "need be in no pain about that; if you would "give them truth you muſt put it in a fabulous "dreſs, but a lie enters freely into the mind of man "in its own proper ſhape. Why then, ſays Æſop, "I am afraid they will believe the beaſts have "ſpoken as I have made them. Ah! (ſays Ho- "mer) the caſe is altered; men will be content "that the gods ſhould be as great fools as them- "ſelves, but they will never bear that the beaſts "ſhould be as wiſe." It would be well if painters could repreſent gods, heroes, angels, and other ſuperior

ſuperior beings, with airs, and actions more than human; but to give ſatyrs, and other inferior creatures a dignity equal to men, would be unpardonable.

In order to aſſiſt, and improve the invention, a painter ought to converſe with, and obſerve all ſorts of people, chiefly the beſt, and to read the beſt books, and no other: he ſhould obſerve the different, and various effect of mens paſſions, and thoſe of other animals, and in ſhort, all nature; and make ſketches of what he obſerves, to help his memory.

So ſhould he do of what he ſees in the works of great maſters, whether painters, or ſculptors, which he cannot always ſee, and have recourſe to.

Nor need any man be aſhamed to be ſometimes a plagiary, it is what the greateſt painters, and poets have allowed themſelves in. Raphael hath borrowed many figures, and groups of figures from the antique; and Milton hath even tranſlated many times from Homer, Virgil, Dante, and Taſſo, and put them as his own: Virgil himſelf hath copied. And indeed it is hard that a man's having had a good thought ſhould give him a patent for it for ever. The painter that can take a hint, or inſert a figure, or groupes of figures from another man, and mix theſe with his own, ſo as to make a good compoſition, will thereby eſtabliſh ſuch a reputation to himſelf, as to be above fearing to ſuffer by the ſhare thoſe to whom he is beholden will have in it.

Raphael, and Giulio Romano are eſpecially excellent for invention: amongſt their other works thoſe of the former at Hampton-Court, and in the Vatican; and of the latter the palace of T. near

near Mantua are ſufficient proofs of it. There are prints of almoſt all theſe; and Bellori has deſcribed thoſe in the Vatican, as Felibien has that ſtupendous work of Giulio.

OF EXPRESSION.

WHATEVER the general character of the ſtory is, the picture muſt diſcover it throughout, whether it be joyous, melancholy, grave, terrible, &c. The nativity, reſurrection, and aſcenſion ought to have the general colouring, the ornaments, back-ground, and every thing in them chearful, and joyous, and the contrary in a crucifixion, interment, or a pietà.

But a diſtinction muſt be made between grave, and melancholy, as in a holy family of Raphael, in my collection, and which hath been mentioned already; (p. 32.) the colouring is brown, and ſolemn, but yet all together the picture hath not a diſmal air, but quite otherwiſe. I have another holy family of Rubens, painted as his manner was, as if the figures were in a ſunny room: I have conſidered what effect it would have had if Raphael's colouring had been the ſame with Ruben's on this occaſion, and doubtleſs it would have been the worſe for it. There are certain ſentiments of awe, and devotion which ought to be raiſed by the firſt ſight of pictures of that ſubject, which that ſolemn colouring contributes very much to, but not the more bright, though upon other occaſions preferable.

I have ſeen a fine inſtance of a colouring proper for melancholy ſubjects in a pietà of Vandike: that alone would make one not only grave, but ſad at firſt ſight; and a coloured drawing that I have

have of the fall of Phaëton after Giulio Romano, ſhews how much this contributes to the expreſſion. It is different from any colouring that ever I ſaw, and admirably adapted to the ſubject: there is a reddiſh purple tinct ſpread throughout, as if the world was all inveloped in ſmouldering fire.

There are certain little circumſtances that contribute to the expreſſion. Such an effect the burning lamps have that are in the carton of healing at the beautiful gate of the temple; one ſees the place is holy, as well as magnificent.

The large fowl that are ſeen on the fore-ground in the carton of the draught of fiſhes have a good effect. There is a certain ſea-wildneſs in them; and as their food was fiſh, they contribute mightily to expreſs the affair in hand, which was fiſhing. They are a fine part of the ſcene.

Paſſerotto has drawn a Chriſt's head as going to be crucified, the expreſſion of which is marvellouſly fine; but (excepting the air of the face) nothing is more moving; not the part of the croſs that is ſeen; not the crown of thorns, nor the drops of blood falling from the wounds that makes; nothing can expreſs more than an ignominious cord which comes upon part of the ſhoulder and neck. Raphael Borghini, in his Ripoſo, in the life of Paſſerotto, has given an account of this drawing, which with others of that maſter (by him alſo ſpoken of) I have.

The robes, and other habits of the figures; their attendants, and enſigns of authority, or dignity, as crowns, maces, &c. help to expreſs their diſtinct characters; and commonly even their place in the compoſition. The principal perſons and actors muſt not be put in a corner, or towards the extremities of the picture, unleſs the neceſſity of

the ſubject requires it. A Chriſt, or an Apoſtle muſt not be dreſſed like an artificer, or a fiſherman; a man of quality muſt be diſtinguiſhed from one of the lower orders of men, as a well-bred man always is in life from a peaſant. And ſo of the reſt.

Every body knows the common, or ordinary diſtinctions by dreſs; but there is one inſtance of a particular kind which I will mention, as being likely to give uſeful hints to this purpoſe, and moreover very curious. In the carton of giving the keys to S. Peter, our Saviour is wrapt only in one large piece of white drapery, his left arm, and breaſt, and part of his leg naked; which undoubtedly was done to denote him now to appear in his reſurrection-body, and not as before his crucifixion, when this dreſs would have been altogether improper. And this is the more remarkable, as having been done upon ſecond thoughts, and after the picture was perhaps finiſhed, which I know by having a drawing of this carton, very old, and probably made in Raphael's time, though not of his hand, where the Chriſt is fully clad; he has the very ſame large drapery, but one under it that covers his breaſt, arm, and legs down to the feet. Every thing elſe is pretty near the ſame with the carton *.

That the face, and air, as well as our actions, indicate the mind is indiſputable. It is ſeen by every body in the extreams on both ſides. For example; let two men, the one a wiſe man, and the other a fool, be ſeen together dreſſed, or diſ-

* Omnis motus animi ſuum quendam à natura habet vultum & ſonum & geſtum; totumque corpus hominis, & ejus omnis vultus, omneſque voces, ut nervi in fidibus, ita tonant, ut a motu animi quoque ſunt ſulta. Cic. de Orat. III.

guiſed

guiſed as you pleaſe, one will not be miſtaken for the other, but diſtinguiſhed with the firſt glance of the eye; and if theſe characters are ſtamped upon the face, ſo as to be read by every one when in the utmoſt extreams, they are ſo proportionably when more or leſs removed from them, and legible accordingly, and in proportion to the ſkill of the reader. The like may be obſerved of good, and ill-nature, genteelneſs, ruſticity, &c.

Every figure and animal muſt be affected in the picture as one ſhould ſuppoſe they would, or ought to be. And all the expreſſions of the ſeveral paſſions and ſentiments muſt be made with regard to the characters of the perſons moved by them. At the raiſing of Lazarus, ſome may be allowed to be made to hold ſomething before their noſes, and this would be very juſt, to denote that circumſtance in the ſtory, the time he had been dead; but this is exceedingly improper in the laying our Lord in the ſepulchre, although he had been dead much longer than he was; however, Pordenone has done it. When Apollo fleas Marſyas, he may expreſs all the anguiſh and impatience the painter can give him, but not ſo in the caſe of St. Bartholomew. That the Virgin Mary ſhould ſwoon away through the exceſs of her grief, is very proper to ſuppoſe, but to throw her in ſuch a poſture as Daniel da Volterra has done in that famous picture of the deſcent from the croſs, is by no means juſtifiable. He hath ſucceeded much better in that article, if a drawing I have which is imputed to him is really of him; (it was once in the collection of Georgio Vaſari, as appears by its border, which is of his hand;) there the expreſſions of ſorrow are very noble, uncommon, and extraordinary.

Polidore, in a drawing of the ſame ſubject (which I alſo have) has finely expreſſed the exceſſive grief of the Virgin, by intimating it was otherwiſe inexpreſſible: her attendants diſcover abundance of paſſion, and ſorrow in their faces, but hers is hid by drapery held up by both her hands: the whole figure is very compoſed, and quiet; no noiſe, no outrage, but great dignity appears in her, ſuitable to her character. This thought Timanthes had in his picture of Iphigenia *, which he probably took from Euripides; as perhaps this of Polidore is owing to one, or both of them.

Putting the fore-finger in the mouth to expreſs an agony, and confuſion of mind is rarely uſed. I do not remember to have ſeen it any where but in the tomb of the Naſonii, where the Sphynx is propoſing the riddle to Œdipus; and in a drawing I have of Giulio Romano, and which is painted in the palace of T. at Mantua. Giulio had not this thought from the other, that tomb not being diſcovered in his time; but in both theſe, this expreſſion is incomparably fine.

In that admirable carton of St. Paul preaching, the expreſſions are very juſt, and delicate throughout: even the back-ground is not without its meaning; it is expreſſive of the ſuperſtition St. Paul was preaching againſt. But no hiſtorian or orator can poſſibly give me ſo great an idea of that eloquent and zealous Apoſtle, as that figure of his does; all the fine things related as ſaid, or wrote by him cannot; for there I ſee a perſon, face, air, and action, which no words can ſufficiently deſcribe, but which aſſure me as much as thoſe

* Pliny xxxv. 10.

can,

can, that that man must speak good sense, and to the purpose. And the different sentiments of his auditors are as finely expressed; some appear to be angry, and malicious; others to be attentive, and reasoning upon the matter within themselves, or with one another; and one especially is apparently convinced. These last are the free-thinkers of that time, and are placed before the Apostle; the others are behind him, not only as caring less for the preacher, or the doctrine, but to raise the apostolick character, which would lose something of its dignity, if his maligners were supposed to be able to look him in the face.

Elymas the sorcerer is blind from head to foot! but how admirably are terror, and astonishment expressed in the people present, and how variously, according to the several characters! The proconsul has these sentiments, but, as a Roman, and a gentleman; the rest in several degrees, and manners.

The same sentiments appear also in the carton of the death of Ananias, together with those of joy and triumph which naturally arises in good minds upon the sight of the effects of divine justice, and the victory of truth.

The airs of the heads in my holy family of Raphael are perfectly fine, according to the several characters; that of the mother of God has all the sweetness and goodness that could possibly appear in herself; what is particularly remarkable is, that the Christ, and the St. John are both fine boys, but the latter is apparently human, the other, as it ought to be, divine.

Nor is the expression in my drawing of the descent of the Holy Ghost * less excellent than the other parts

* The same from which the print of Marc Antonio is taken.

of it. The Virgin is ſeated in the principal part of the picture, and ſo diſtinguiſhed as that none in the company ſeems to pretend to be in competition with her; and the devotion, and modeſty with which ſhe receives the ineffable gift is worthy of her character. St. Peter is on her right hand, and St. John on her left; the former hath his arms croſſed on his breaſt, his head reclined, as if aſhamed of having denied ſuch a maſter, and receives the inſpiration with great compoſure; but St. John with a holy boldneſs raiſes his head and hands, and is in a moſt becoming attitude; the women behind St. Mary are plainly of an inferior character. Throughout, there is great variety of expreſſions of joy and devotion, extreamly well adapted to the occaſion.

I will add one example more of a fine expreſſion, becauſe though it is very juſt, and natural, it hath not been done by any that I know of, except Tintoret, in a drawing I have ſeen of him. The ſtory is our Saviour's declaration to the apoſtles, at ſupper with him, that one of them ſhould betray him: ſome are moved one way, and ſome another, as is uſual, but one of them hides his face, droped down betwixt both his hands, as burſt into tears from an exceſs of ſorrow that his Lord ſhould betrayed, and by one of them.

In portraits it muſt be ſeen whether the perſon is grave, gay, a man of buſineſs, or wit, plain, genteel, &c. Each character muſt have an attitude, and dreſs; the ornaments and back-ground proper to it: every part of the portrait, and all about it muſt be expreſſive of the man, and have a reſemblance as well as the features of the face.

If the perſon hath any particularities as to the ſet, or motion of the head, eyes, or mouth, (ſuch as

as Shakeſpear ſomewhere calls the trick of the eye, ſuppoſing it be not unbecoming) theſe muſt be taken notice of, and ſtrongly pronounced. They are a ſort of moving features, and are as much a part of the man as the fixed ones: nay, ſometimes they raiſe a low ſubject, as in the caſe of my marble head already ſpoken of, and contribute more to a ſurpriſing likeneſs than any thing elſe. Vandyke, in a picture I have of him, has given a briſk touch upon the under-lip, which makes the form, and ſet of the mouth very particular, and doubtleſs was an air which Don Diego de Guſman, whoſe portrait it is, was accuſtomed to give himſelf, which an inferior painter would not have obſerved, or not have dared to have pronounced, at leaſt ſo ſtrongly: but this, as it gives a marvellous ſpirit, and ſmartneſs, undoubtedly gave a proportionable reſemblance.

If there be any thing particular in the hiſtory of the perſon which is proper to be expreſſed, as it is ſtill a farther deſcription of him, it is a great improvement to the portrait, to them who know that circumſtance. There is an inſtance of this in a picture of Vandyke made of John Lyvens, who is drawn as if he was liſtening at ſomething; which refers to a remarkable ſtory in that man's life. The print is in the book of Vandyke's heads: which book, and the heads of the artiſts in the Lives of Giorgio Vaſari are worth conſidering with regard to the variety of attitudes ſuited to the ſeveral characters, as well as upon other accounts.

Robes, or other marks of dignity, or of a profeſſion, employment or amuſement, a book, a ſhip, a favourite dog, or the like, are hiſtorical expreſſions common in portraits, which muſt be men-

tioned on this occaſion; and to ſay more of them is not neceſſary.

There are ſeveral kinds of artificial expreſſions indulged to painters, and practiſed by them, becauſe of the diſadvantage of their art, in that particular, in compariſon of words.

To expreſs the ſenſe of the wrath of God with which our Lord's mind was filled, when in his agony, and the apprehenſion he was then in of his own approaching crucifixion, Federico Barocci, in a drawing I have of him, hath repreſented this wondrous object in a proper attitude; and not only with the angel holding the cup to him, which is common, but in the back-ground you ſee the croſs, and flames of fire. This is new and poetical.

In the carton where the people of Lycaonia are going to ſacrifice to St. Paul and Barnabas, the occaſion of this is finely told: The man who was healed of his lameneſs is one of the forwardeſt to expreſs his ſenſe of the divine power which appeared in thoſe apoſtles; and to ſhew it to be him, not only a crutch is under his feet on the ground, but an old man takes up the lappet of his garment, and looks upon the limb which he remembered to have been crippled, and expreſſes great devotion and admiration; which ſentiments are alſo ſeen in the other with a mixture of joy. When our Saviour committed the care of his church to Peter, the words he uſed on that occaſion are related by Raphael, who hath made him pointing to a flock of ſheep.* When the ſtory of Joſeph's interpre-

* Here is, beſides, another fine inſtance of expreſſion. The intention of this picture was doubtleſs to honour the papal dignity. St. Peter was to be here repreſented in his brighteſt character;

interpretation of Pharaoh's dreams was to be related, Raphael hath painted those dreams in two circles over the figures; which he hath also done when Joseph relates his own to his brethren. His manner of expressing God's dividing the light from darkness, and the creation of the sun and moon, is altogether sublime. The prints of those last-mentioned pictures are not hard to be found, they are in what they call Raphael's Bible, but the paintings are in the Vatican; the best treasury of the works of that divine painter, except Hampton-Court.

The hyperbolical artifice of Timanthes to express the vastness of the Cyclops is well known, and was mightily admired by the ancients; he made several satyrs about him as if he was asleep, some were running away as frightened, others gazing at a distance, and one was measuring his thumb with his thyrsus, but seeming to do it with great caution lest he should awake. This expression was copied by Giulio Romano with a little variation. Corregio, in his picture of Danaë†, has finely expressed the sense of this story; for, upon the falling of the golden shower, Cupid draws off her linen covering, and two loves are trying upon a touchstone a dart tipped with gold. I will add but one example more of this kind, and that is of Nicolas Poussin to express a voice‡,

character; which consists in his having the keys, and the flock of Christ committed to him; but this last being conferred on him after the other, for Christ was then risen from the dead, and the keys he was in possession of before the crucifixion; both histories could not be brought in without making a double picture. The first is therefore expressed by his having the keys in his hand.

† Engraved by Du Change.

‡ Engraved by Del Po.

which

which he has done in the baptiſm of our Saviour, by making the people look up and about, as it is natural for men to do when they hear any ſuch, and know not whence it comes, eſpecially if it be otherwiſe extraordinary, as the caſe was in this hiſtory.

Another way practiſed by painters to expreſs their ſenſe, which could not otherwiſe be done in painting, is by figures repreſentative of certain things. This they learned from the ancients, of which there are abundance of examples, as in the Antoninian, or rather Aurelian pillar §, where to expreſs the rain that fell when the Roman army was preſerved, as they pretended, by the prayers of the Meletenian or thundering legion, the figure of Jupiter Pluvius is introduced: But I need not mention more of theſe. Raphael hath been very ſparing of this expedient in ſacred ſtory, though in the paſſage of Jordan he hath repreſented that river by an old man dividing the waters, which are rolled and tumbled very nobly; but in poetical ſtories he hath been very profuſe of theſe, as in the judgment of Paris and elſewhere. The like has been commonly practiſed by Annibale Carracci, Giulio Romano, and others. And there are ſome entire pictures of this kind, as in thoſe made to compliment perſons or ſocieties, where their virtues, or what are attributed to them, are thus repreſented.

When we ſee in pictures of the Madona thoſe of St. Francis, St. Katherine, or others not cotemporary, nay even the portraits of particular perſons living when the pictures were made, this is

§ This auguſt monument of antiquity is engraved by Pietro Santa Bartoli, with a commentary of Bellori. This figure is n. 15.

not

not ſo blameable as people commonly think. We are not to ſuppoſe theſe were intended for pure hiſtorical pictures, but only to expreſs the attachment thoſe ſaints or perſons had for the Virgin, or their great piety and zeal: So I have ſeen whole families repreſented with the mantle of the Virgin Mary ſpread over their heads, doubtleſs to denote their putting themſelves under her protection. With this key a great many ſeeming abſurdities of good maſters will be diſcovered to be none.

In the hiſtory of Heliodorus, who was miraculouſly chaſtiſed when he made a ſacrilegious attempt upon the treaſure in the temple of Jeruſalem, Raphael has brought in the reigning Pope Julius II. to compliment him, who gloried in having driven out the enemies of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate.

The famous St. Cecilia at Bologna is accompanied by St. Paul, St. John, St. Auguſtin, and St. Mary Magdalen, not as being ſuppoſed to have lived together; but poſſibly thoſe being ſaints of different characters are introduced to heighten that of the ſaint, which is the principal one in the compoſition.‖ Though Albani thought it was done by Raphael in pure compliance with the poſitive direction of thoſe for whom the picture was made; which (by the way) is not ſeldom the occaſion of real faults in pictures, and which therefore are not to be imputed to the painter. My lord Somers has a drawing of the ſame ſubject attributed to Innocentio da Imola, which I believe was done after ſome former deſign of Raphael, for there are the ſame figures, placed juſt in the ſame manner, only the attitudes are conſiderably

‖ See Felſina Pittrice, tom. II. p. 245.

varied;

varied; for there the other ſaints have regard only to the heroine of the picture: This helps to explain the other.

Of all the painters Rubens hath made the boldeſt uſe of this kind of expreſſion (by figures) in his pictures of the Luxembourg gallery, and has been much cenſured for it. The truth is, it is a little ſhocking to ſee ſuch a mixture of antique and modern figures of chriſtianity and heatheniſm in the ſame pictures; but this is much owing to its novelty. He was willing not only to relate the actions done, but a great deal more than could be related any other way; and for the ſake of that advantage, and the applauſe he ſhould receive for it from thoſe who judged of the thing in its true light, he had the courage to hazard the good opinion of others. He had moreover another very good reaſon for what he did on this occaſion: The ſtories he had to paint were modern, and the habits and ornaments muſt be ſo too, which would not have had a very agreeable effect in painting: Theſe allegorical additions make a wonderful improvement; they vary, enliven, and enrich the work; as any one may perceive that will imagine the pictures as they muſt have been, had Rubens been terrified by the objections which he certainly muſt have foreſeen would be made afterwards, and ſo had left all theſe heathen gods and goddeſſes, and the reſt of the fictitious figures out of the compoſition.

I will add but one way of expreſſion more, and that is, plain writing.

Polygnotus, in the paintings made by him in the temple of Delphos, wrote the names of thoſe whom he repreſented.

The

The old Italian and German maſters improved upon this; the figures they made were, literally, ſpeaking figures; they had labels coming out of their mouths, with that written in them which they were intended to be made to ſay; but even Raphael and Annibale Carracci have condeſcended to write rather than leave any ambiguity or obſcurity in their work: Thus the name of Sappho is written to ſhew it was this celebrated poeteſs, and not one of the muſes intended in the Parnaſſus. And in the gallery of Farneſe, that Anchiſes might not be miſtaken for Adonis, Genus unde latinum was written.

In the carton of Elymas the ſorcerer, it doth not appear that the proconſul was converted, otherwiſe than by the writing; nor do I conceive how it was poſſible to have expreſſed that important circumſtance ſo properly any other way.

In the peſt of the ſame maſter, engraved by Marc Antonio, there is a line out of Virgil which, as it is very proper (the plague being that deſcribed by this poet, as will be ſeen preſently) admirably heightens the expreſſion, though, without it, it is one of the moſt wonderful inſtances of this part of the art that perhaps is in the world in black and white, and the utmoſt that human wit can ſuggeſt; there is not the moſt minute circumſtance throughout the whole deſign which does not help to expreſs the miſery there intended to be ſhewn: But the print being not hard to be ſeen, need not to be deſcribed.

Writing is again uſed in this deſign: In one part of it you ſee a perſon on his bed, and two figures by him; this is Æneas, who (as Virgil relates) was adviſed by his father to apply himſelf to the Phrygian Gods to know what he ſhould do

to

to remove the plague; and being reſolved to go, the deities appeared to him, the moon ſhining very bright (which the print repreſents); here Effigies Sacræ Divom Phrygiæ* is written, becauſe otherwiſe this incident would not probably have been thought on, but the group would have been taken to be only a ſick man, and his attendants.

The works of this prodigy of a man ought to be carefully ſtudied by him who would make himſelf maſter in expreſſion, more eſpecially with relation to thoſe paſſions and ſentiments that have nothing of ſavage and cruel; for his angelick mind was a ſtranger to theſe, as appears by his ſlaughter of the innocents, where, though he hath had recourſe to the expedient of making the ſoldiers naked to give the more terror, he hath not ſucceeded ſo well as even ſo inferior a maſter as Pietro Teſta, who, in a drawing I have of him of that ſtory, has ſhewn he was fitter for it than Raphael: But you muſt not expect to find the true airs of the heads of that great maſter in prints, not even in thoſe of Marc Antonio himſelf. Thoſe are to be found only in what his own inimitable hand has done, of which there are many unqueſtionably right in ſeveral collections here in England; particularly in thoſe very admirable and copious ones of the duke of Devonſhire, and the earl of Pembroke; to whom I take leave on this, as on all other occaſions, to make my humble acknowledgments for the favour of frequently ſeeing and conſidering thoſe noble and delicious curioſities. But Hampton-Court is the great ſchool of Raphael! and God be praiſed that we have ſo

* Æneid III. 140.

near

near us such an invaluable blessing. May the cartons continue in that place, and always to be seen, unhurt and undecayed, so long as the nature of the materials of which they are composed will possibly allow. May even a miracle be wrought in their favour, as themselves are some of the greatest instances of the divine power's interfering to endue a mortal man with abilities to perform such stupendous works of art.

Besides him, I know of none of the old masters that are remarkable for expression, unless for particular subjects; as Michael Angelo for infernal or terrible airs; amongst others I have the drawing he made for the Caron in the famous picture of the last judgment, which is admirable in its kind; and which (by the way) Vasari, who was well acquainted with him, says, he took from these three lines of Dante, an author he was very fond of:

Caron demonio con occhi di bragia
Loro accennando tutte le raccoglie
Batte col remo qualunque sadagia.

Giulio Romano has fine airs for masks, a Silenus, satyrs, and the like. And for such stories as that of the Decii, the three hundred Spartans, the destruction of the giants, &c. I have several proofs of this. Others of later times have succeeded well in this part of the art, as Domenichino and Rembrandt, but these are the principal; only for portraits, and herein, next to Raphael, perhaps no man hath a better title to the preference than Vandyke; no not Titian himself, much less Rubens.

But there is no better school than nature for expression. A painter therefore should on all occasions observe how men look and act, when pleased, grieved, angry, &c.

Of COMPOSITION.

THIS is putting together for the advantage of the whole, what ſhall be judged proper to to be the ſeveral parts of a picture; either as being eſſential to it, or becauſe they are thought neceſſary for the common benefit: and moreover, the determination of the painter as to certain attitudes, and colours which are otherwiſe indifferent.

The compoſition of a picture is of vaſt conſequence to the goodneſs of it; it is what firſt of all preſents itſelf to the eye, and prejudices us in favour of, or with an averſion to it; like what the great queen Iſabella of Caſtile ſaid of a handſome and ingenious countenance, that it was a letter of recommendation. It is this that directs us to the ideas that are to be conveyed by the painter, and in what order; and the eye is delighted with the harmony at the ſame time as the underſtanding is improved. Whereas this being bad and injudicious, though the ſeveral parts are fine, the picture is troubleſome to look upon, and like a book in which are many good thoughts, but flung in confuſedly, and without method.

Every picture ſhould be ſo contrived, as that at a diſtance, when one cannot diſcern what figures there are, or what they are doing, it ſhould appear to be compoſed of maſſes, light, and dark; the latter of which ſerve as repoſes to the eye. The forms of theſe maſſes muſt be agreeable, of whatſoever they conſiſt, ground, trees, draperies, figures, &c. and the whole together ſhould be ſweet, and delightful, lovely ſhapes and colours without a name; of which there is an infinite variety.

And

And it is not enough that there be great maſſes; they muſt be ſubdivided into leſſer parts, or they will appear heavy, and diſagreeable: thus though there is evidently a broad light (for example) in a piece of ſilk when covering a whole figure, or a limb, there may be leſſer folds, breakings, flickerings, and reflections, and the great maſs yet evidently preſerved.

Sometimes one maſs of light is upon a dark ground, and then the extremities of the light muſt not be too near the edges of the picture, and its greateſt ſtrength muſt be towards the centre; as in the deſcent from the croſs, and the burial of Chriſt, both of Rubens, and of both which there are prints, one by Voſterman, and the other by Pontius.

I have a painting of the holy family by Rubens of this ſtructure; where, becauſe the maſs of light in one part would elſe have gone off too abruptly, and have made a leſs pleaſing figure, he hath ſet the foot of St. Elizabeth on a little ſtool; here the light catches, and ſpreads the maſs ſo as to have the deſired effect. Such another artifice Raphael hath practiſed in the famous Madona, in the tribunal at Florence. He has brought in a kind of an ornament to a chair for no other end (that I can imagine) but to form the maſs agreeably.

Vandyke, that he might keep his principal light near the middle of his picture, and to ſhew to advantage the body of the figure, which he ſeems to have intended to exert himſelf in, hath even kept the head ſombrous in an ecce homo I have of him, which makes the whole have a fine effect.

I have many times obſerved with a great deal of pleaſure the admirable compoſition (beſides the other excellencies) of a fruit-piece of Michael Angelo Compadoglio, which I have had many years. The principal light is near the centre (not exactly there, for thoſe regularities have an ill effect;) and the tranſition from thence, and from one thing to another, to the extremities of the picture all round is very eaſy, and delightful; in which he has employed fine artifices by leaves, twigs, little touches of lights ſtriking advantageouſly, and the like. So that there is not a ſtroke in the picture without its meaning; and the whole, though very bright, and conſiſting of a great many parts, has a wonderful harmony, and repoſe.

One of the drawings that Corregio made for the compoſition of his famous picture of the nativity, called La Notte del Corregio, I have, and it is admirable in its kind: there is nothing one could wiſh were otherwiſe with reſpect to the compoſition, but that the full moon which he has made in one of the corners at the top had been omitted; it gives no light, that all comes from the new-born Saviour of the world, and ſweetly diffuſes itſelf from thence as from its centre all over the picture, only that moon a little troubles the eye.

The compoſition of my holy family of Raphael is not inferior to its other parts, and the tranſition from one thing to another is very artful: to inſtance only in one particular; behind the Madona is St. Joſeph reſting his head on his hand, which is placed upon his mouth, and chin; this hand ſpreads that ſubordinate maſs of light, and

and together with the coiffure of the Virgin, and the little ring of glory round her head (which contribute alſo to the ſame end) makes the tranſition from her face to that of St. Joſeph very grateful, and eaſy. The whole figure of St. Joſeph is connected with that of the Madona, but ſubordinately, by one ſmart touch of the pencil artfully applied upon his drapery in the holy family I have of Rubens; than which there cannot be a more perfect example for compoſition, both as to the maſſes, and colour: but I will not multiply inſtances.

Sometimes the ſtructure of a picture, or the tout-enſemble of its form, ſhall reſemble dark clouds on a light ground; as in two aſſumptions of the Virgin by Bolſwert after Rubens: but in both of them the figures of theſe maſſes are ſomething too indiſtinct. Le Brun in a ceiling of the ſame ſubject, graved by young Simonneau, has put a group of angels, which almoſt hide the cloudy voiture of the Virgin; but this maſs is of too regular, and heavy a ſhape. I refer you to prints, becauſe they are eaſy to be got, and explain this matter as well as drawings, or pictures, and in ſome reſpects better.

There are inſtances where two maſſes, a light, and a dark one, divide the picture, each poſſeſſing one ſide. I have of this ſort by Rubens, and as fine a compoſition as can be ſeen; the maſſes are ſo well rounded, the principal light being near the middle of the bright one, and the other having ſubordinate lights upon it ſo as to connect, but not to confound it with the reſt; and they are in agreeable ſhapes, and melting into one another, but nevertheleſs ſufficiently determined.

Very commonly a picture consists of a mass of light, and another of shadow upon a ground of a middle tint. And sometimes it is composed of a mass of dark at the bottom, another lighter above that, and another, for the upper part, still lighter; (as usually in a landscape.) I have a Paolo Veronese where a large group of figures, the principal ones of the story, compose this lower brown mass; architecture, the second; more buildings, with figures and the sky, the third; but most commonly in pictures of three masses, the second is the place of the principal figures.

Of such consequence are these agreeable masses in a picture, that for the sake of them what is less material must be dispensed with when both cannot be had. As the principal figure, and action must be distinguished, (of which more presently) those limbs of a figure that are chiefly employed ought to be made conspicuous; Luca Giordano, in a picture I have, has represented the little Jesus as riding on St. John's lamb, and supported by that young Saint; the legs of the lamb being his own support, and that of his rider should have been very obvious; but if they had, the mass where they are would have been too much, and disagreeably broken, they are only seen therefore, and the masses are preserved, and so beautifully as to be a great part of the merit of the picture.

As the tout-ensemble of a picture must be beautiful in its masses, so must it be as to its colours. And as what is principal must be (generally speaking) the most conspicuous, the predominant colours of that should be diffused throughout the whole. This Raphael has observed remarkably

in

in the carton of St. Paul preaching; his drapery is red and green, and these colours are scattered every where; but judiciously; for subordinate colours as well as subordinate lights serve to soften, and support the principal ones, which otherwise would appear as spots, and consequently be offensive.

And when the subject does not necessarily require a due variety or beauty of tincts, or perhaps the picture when thought to be finished is found to want something of this kind, a few red, or yellow leaves of trees, flowers, of whatever colour, in short, any thing otherwise indifferent, may be flung in very advantageously.

In a figure, and every part of a figure, and indeed in every thing else there is one part which must have a peculiar force, and be manifestly distinguished from the rest, all the other parts of which must also have a due subordination to it, and to one another. The same must be observed in the composition of an entire picture; and this principal, distinguished part, ought (generally speaking) to be the place of the principal figure, and action: and here every thing must be higher finished, the other parts must be less so gradually.

Pictures should be like bunches of grapes, but they must not resemble a great many single grapes scattered on a table; there must not be many little parts of an equal strength, and detached from one another, which is as odious to the eye as it is to the ear to hear many people talking to you at once. Nothing must start, or be too strong for the place where it is; as in a concert of musick when a note is too high, or an instrument out of tune; but a sweet harmony and repose must result

from all the parts judiciouſly put together, and united with each other.

In the deſcent from the croſs of Rubens, the Chriſt is the principal figure, this body being naked and about the centre of the picture would have been diſtinguiſhed as the heightening of this maſs of light; but not content with that, and to raiſe it ſtill more, this judicious maſter has added a ſheet in which the body lies, and which is ſuppoſed to be uſeful to deliver it down ſafely, as well as to carry it off afterwards, but the main deſign is what I am obſerving, and for that it is admirably introduced.

Ananias is the principal figure in the carton which gives the hiſtory of his death; as the apoſtle that pronounces his ſentence is of the ſubordinate group, which conſiſts of apoſtles. (Which therefore is ſubordinate, becauſe the principal action relates to the criminal, and thither the eye is directed by almoſt all the figures in the picture.) St. Paul is the chief figure in that carton where he is preaching, and amongſt his auditors one is eminently diſtinguiſhed, who is principal of that group; and is apparently a believer, and more ſo than any of them, or he had not had that ſecond place in a picture conducted by ſo great a judgment as that of Raphael's. Theſe principal, and ſubordinate groups, and figures, are ſo apparent, that the eye will naturally fix firſt upon one, then upon the other, and conſider each in order, and with delight. I might give other examples were it neceſſary; where it is not thus, the compoſition is leſs perfect.

It is to be noted, that the ſorcerer in the carton of his chaſtiſement is the principal figure there, but

but hath not the force in all its parts that it ought to have as ſuch, and to maintain the harmony; this is accidental, for it is certain his drapery was of the ſame ſtrength and beauty, as that on his head, however it has happened to have changed its colour.

The ſhadows in the drapery of St. Paul alſo, in that carton where the people are about to ſacrifice to him and Barnabas, have loſt ſomething of their force.

Sometimes the place in the picture, and not the force, gives the diſtinction; as in my drawing of the deſcent of the Holy Ghoſt: the principal figure is the ſymbol of that divine perſon in the ſacred trinity, who is the great agent, and is diſtinguiſhed both by the place it is in, and the glory which ſurrounds it: the principal of the next group is the Virgin, who is placed directly under the dove, and in the middle of the picture; but ſome of the apoſtles who appear not to be the chief, have a greater force than ſhe, or any of thoſe that compoſe that group; however the place ſhe poſſeſſes preſerves that diſtinction that the incomparable artiſt intended to give her.

And ſometimes the painter happens to be obliged to put a figure in a place, and with a degree of force which does not ſufficiently diſtinguiſh it. In that caſe, the attention muſt be awakened by the colour of its drapery, or a part of it, or by the ground on which it is painted, or ſome other artifice.

Scarlet, or ſome vivid colour, is very proper on ſuch occaſions: I think I have met with an inſtance of this kind from Titian, in a Bacchus and Ariadne; her figure is thus diſtinguiſhed for the reaſon I have given. And in a picture of

Albano, which Sir James Thornhill has, our Lord is ſeen at a diſtance as coming towards ſome of his diſciples, and, though a ſmall figure, is nevertheleſs the moſt apparent in the picture by being placed on a riſing ground, and painted upon the bright part of the ſky juſt above the horizon.

In a compoſition, as well as in every ſingle figure, or other part of which the picture conſiſts, one thing muſt contraſt, or be varied from another. Thus in a figure, the arms and legs muſt not be placed to anſwer one another in parallel lines. In like manner if one figure in a compoſition ſtands, another muſt bend, or lie on the ground; and of thoſe that ſtand, or are in any other poſition, if there be ſeveral of them, they muſt be varied by turns of the head, or ſome other artful diſpoſition of their parts; as may be ſeen (for inſtance) in the carton of giving the keys. The maſſes muſt alſo have the like contraſt, two muſt not be alike in form or ſize, nor the whole maſs compoſed of thoſe leſſer ones of too regular a ſhape. The colours muſt be alſo contraſted, and oppoſed, ſo as to be grateful to the eye: there muſt not (for example) be two draperies in one picture of the ſame colour and ſtrength, unleſs they are contiguous, and then they are but as one. If there be two reds, blews, or whatever other colour, one muſt be of a darker, or paler tinct, or be ſome way varied by lights, ſhadows, or reflections. Raphael, and others have made great advantage of changeable ſilks to unite the contraſting colours, as well as to make a part of the contraſt themſelves. As in the carton of giving the keys, the apoſtle that ſtands in profile, and immediately behind St. John, has a yellow garment with red ſleeves, which connects that figure

figure with St. Peter, and St. John, whoſe draperies are of the ſame ſpecies of colours. Then the ſame apoſtle has a looſe changeable drapery, the lights of which are a mixture of red and yellow, the other parts are blewiſh. This unites itſelf with the other colours already mentioned, and with the blew drapery of another apoſtle which follows afterwards; between which, and the changeable ſilk is a yellow drapery ſomething different from the other yellows, but with ſhadows bearing upon the purple, as thoſe of the yellow drapery of St. Peter incline to the red: all which, together with ſeveral other particulars, produce a wonderful harmony.

The exotick birds that are placed on the ſhore, in the fore-ground in the carton of the draught of fiſhes, prevent the heavineſs which that part would otherwiſe have had by breaking the parallel lines which would have been made by the boats, and baſe of the picture.

The back ground of the picture of the death-bed of Germanicus by Pouſſin, is architecture; but the many perpendicular lines over the heads of the figures throughout, would have had an ill effect: he has therefore ſpread a ſort of curtain or canopy, over the principal of them; (which alſo helps to diſtinguiſh them) this remedies that inconvenience; the reſt of the back ground is contraſted by ſtandards, arms, &c.

Though a maſs may conſiſt of a number of little parts, there ought to be one, or more, larger, and as it were governing the reſt, and this is another ſort of contraſt. My lord Burlington has a picture of the good Samaritan by Baſſano, which is a fine inſtance of this. In the ſame picture, there are two knees of two ſeveral figures, pretty near together,

together, and the legs and thighs of which make angles too much alike, but this is contrafted by one being naked, and the other clad; and over the latter, a little fort of fafh falls, which is an additional expedient.

There is an admirable contraft in the carton of St. Paul preaching; his figure (which is a fublime one) ftands alone, as it ought to do, and conſequently is very conſpicuous, which is alſo perfectly right; the attitude is as fine as can be imagined; but the beauty of this noble figure, and with it of the whole picture depends upon this artful contraft I have been ſpeaking of; of ſo great conſequence is that little part of the drapery flung over the apoſtle's ſhoulder, and hanging down almoſt to his waiſt; for, beſides that it poizes the figure, which leans forward in the energy of his diſcourſe, had it gone lower, ſo as to have, as it were, divided the outline of the hinder part of the figure in two equal, or near equal parts, it had been offenſive; as it had been leſs pleaſing if it had not come ſo low as it does. This important piece of drapery preſerves the maſs of light upon that figure, but varies it, and gives it an agreeable form, whereas without it the whole figure would have been heavy, and diſagreeable; but there was no danger of that in Raphael. There is another piece of drapery in the carton of giving the keys, which is very judiciouſly flung in; the three outmoſt figures at the end of the picture, (the contrary to that where our Lord is) made a maſs of light of a ſhape not very pleaſing, till that knowing painter ſtruck in a part of the garment of the laſt apoſtle in the group as folded under his arm, this breaks the ſtraight line, and gives a more grateful form to the whole maſs; which

which is alſo aſſiſted by the boat there; as the principal figure in this compoſition is by the flock of ſheep placed behind him, and which moreover ſerves to detach the figure from its ground, as well as to illuſtrate the hiſtory.

The naked boys in the carton of healing the cripple are a farther proof of Raphael's great judgment in compoſition: One of them is in ſuch an attitude as finely varies the turns of the figures; but here is moreover another kind of contraſt, and that is cauſed by their being naked, which how odd ſoever it may ſeem at firſt, and without conſidering the reaſon of it, will be found to have a marvellous effect: Cloath them in imagination; dreſs them as you will, the picture ſuffers by it, and would have ſuffered if Raphael himſelf had done it.

It is for the ſake of this contraſt, which is of ſo great conſequence in painting, that this knowing man, in the carton we are now upon, hath placed his figures at one end of the temple near the corner, where one would not ſuppoſe the beautiful gate was: But this varies the ſides of the picture, and at the ſame time gives him an opportunity to enlarge his buildings with a fine portico, the like of which you muſt imagine muſt be on the other ſide of the main ſtructure; all which together makes one of the nobleſt pieces of architecture that can be conceived.

He has taken a greater licence in the carton of the converſion of Sergius Paulus, where the architecture will be difficult to account for, otherwiſe than by ſaying, it was done to give the contraſt we are ſpeaking of; but this will juſtify it ſufficiently.

Nor

Nor is this contraſt only neceſſary in every particular picture, but if ſeveral are made to hang in one room they ought to contraſt one another. This Titian conſidered when he was making ſeveral pictures for our king Henry VIII. as appears by a letter he wrote to that prince, which (amongſt others of Titian to the emperor and other great men) is to be found in a collection of letters printed at Venice, anno 1574. p. 403.

—— " Et perche la Danaë ch'io mandai già a " noſtra maeſtà, ſi uedeua tutta dalla parte dinanzi, " hò uoluto in queſt' altra poeſia, uariare, & farle " moſtrare la contraria parte, accioche rieſca in " camerino doue hanno da ſtare più gratioſo alla " uiſta. Toſto le mandero la poeſia di Perſeo & " Andromeda, che haura un' altra uiſta, differente " da queſte, & coſi Medea & Jaſone."——

—— " And becauſe the Danaë, which I have al- " ready ſent to your majeſty, is ſeen in front, I " deſign in this other table to vary, and then the " back parts of this contraſt will have a better " effect in the room in which they are to hang. I " ſhall ſend alſo in a ſhort time the Perſeus and " Andromeda, which will have another view ſtill " different from both theſe, and ſo too the Jaſon " and Medea."——

There is another ſort of contraſt which I have often wondered painters have not more conſidered than we generally find; and that is, making ſome fat, and ſome lean people; ſuch a face and air as Mr. Locke's, or Sir Iſaac Newton's, would ſhine in the beſt compoſition that ever Raphael made, as to expreſs their characters would be a taſk worthy of that divine hand. In the cartons there are one or two figures ſomething corpulent, but I think not one remarkably lean; I have a drawing of

of Baccio Bandinelli where this contraſt is, and has a fine effect.

The maſters to be ſtudied for compoſition are Raphael, Rubens, and Rembrandt moſt eſpecially, though many others are worthy notice, and to be carefully conſidered; amongſt which Vandevelde ought not to be forgotten; who, though his ſubjects were ſhips, which conſiſting of ſo many little parts, are very difficult to fling into great maſſes, has done it, by the help of ſpread ſails, ſmoak, and the bodies of the veſſels, and a judicious management of lights and ſhadows. So that his compoſitions are many times as good as thoſe of any maſter.

The more to be convinced of the advantage of compoſition, as well as the better to comprehend what I have been ſaying, it may not be amiſs to compare ſome of thoſe things, I have inſtanced in, as good, with others that are not ſo; ſuch as the famous deſcent of the croſs by Daniele da Volterra, where all is confuſion; the crucifixion of our Lord between the two thieves by Rubens, engraved by Bolſwart, where, though they are diſtinct, they are of diſagreeable forms, and unconnected.

DESIGN or DRAWING.

BY theſe terms is ſometimes underſtood the expreſſing our thoughts upon paper, or whatever other flat ſuperficies; and that by reſemblances formed by a pen, crayon, chalk, or the like. But more commonly the giving the juſt form and dimenſion of viſible objects, according as they appear to the eye; if they are pretended to be deſcribed in their natural dimenſions; if

bigger

bigger or leſs, then drawing or deſigning ſignifies only the giving thoſe things their true form, which implies an exact proportionable magnifying, or diminiſhing in every part alike.

And this comprehends alſo, giving the true ſhapes, places, and even degrees of lights, ſhadows, and reflections; becauſe if theſe are not right, if the thing hath not its due force, or relief, the true form of what is pretended to be drawn cannot be given. Theſe ſhew the outline all round, and in every part, as well as where the object is terminated on its back-ground.

In a compoſition of ſeveral figures, or whatever other bodies, if the perſpective is not juſt, the drawing of that compoſition is falſe. This therefore is alſo implied by this term.

I know, drawing is not commonly underſtood to comprehend the clair-obſcure, relief, and perſpective; but it doth not follow however that what I advance is not right.

But if the outlines are only marked, this alſo is drawing; it is giving the true form of what is pretended to, that is, the outline.

The drawing, in the latter and moſt common ſenſe, beſides that it muſt be juſt, muſt be pronounced boldly, clearly, and without ambiguity: Conſequently, neither the outlines, nor the forms of the lights and ſhadows, muſt be confuſed and uncertain, or woolly, upon pretence of ſoftneſs; nor, on the other hand, may they be ſharp, hard, or dry; for either of theſe are extreams; nature lies between them.

As there are not two men in the world who at this inſtant, or at any other time, have exactly the ſame ſet of ideas; nor any one man that hath the ſame ſet twice, or this moment, as he had the laſt;

for

for thoughts obtrude themſelves, and paſs along in the mind continually, as the rivers

Stream and perpetual draw their humid train.—MILT.

So, neither are there two men, nor two faces, no, not two eyes, foreheads, noſes, or any other features; nay farther, there are not two leaves, though of the ſame ſpecies, perfectly alike.

A deſigner therefore muſt conſider, when he draws after nature, that his buſineſs is to deſcribe that very form, as diſtinguiſhed from every other form in the univerſe.

In order to give this juſt repreſentation of nature, for that is all we are now upon, as being all that drawing, in the preſent ſenſe, and ſimply conſidered, implies (grace and greatneſs, are to be ſpoken to afterwards) I ſay, in order to follow nature exactly, a man muſt be well acquainted with nature, and have a reaſonable knowledge of geometry, proportion, (which muſt be varied according to the ſex, age, and quality of the perſon) anatomy, oſteology, and perſpective. I will add to theſe, an acquaintance with the works of the beſt painters and ſculptors, ancient and modern: For it is a certain maxim, "No man ſees what "things are, that knows not what they ought to "be."

That this maxim is true, will appear by an academy figure drawn by one ignorant in the ſtructure and knitting of the bones, and anatomy, compared with another who underſtands theſe thoroughly: Or by comparing a portrait of the ſame perſon drawn by one unacquainted with the works of the beſt maſters, and another of the hand of one to whom thoſe excellent works are no ſtrangers; both ſee the ſame life, but with different eyes; for, as no two things in nature are perfectly

perfectly alike, ſo neither do any two perſons eyes ſee the ſame thing exactly alike; the former ſees it as one unſkilled in muſic hears a concert or ſingle inſtrument; the other as a maſter in that ſcience: Theſe hear equally, but not with like diſtinction of ſounds, and obſervation of the ſkill of the compoſer.

Perhaps Albert Durer drew as correctly, according to the idea he had of things, as Raphael; and the German eye ſaw (in one ſenſe) as well as the Italian; but theſe two maſters conceived differently, nature had not the ſame appearance to both, and that becauſe one of them had not his eyes formed to ſee the beauties that are really there; the perception of which lets us into another world, more beautiful than is ſeen by untaught eyes:* And which is ſtill improveable by a mind ſtored with great and lovely ideas, and capable of imagining ſomething beyond what is ſeen. Such a one every deſigner ought to have. But this is to be ſpoken to when I treat of grace and greatneſs.

Michael Angelo was the moſt learned and correct deſigner of all the moderns, if Raphael were not his equal, or, as ſome will have it, ſuperior. The Roman and Florentine ſchools have excelled all others in this fundamental part of painting; and of the firſt, Raphael, Giulio Romano, Polidore, Pierino del Vaga, &c. as Michael Angelo, Leonardo da Vinci, Andrea del Sarto, &c. have been the beſt of the Florentines. Of the Bologneſe, Annibale Carracci, and Dominchino have been excellent deſigners. But the beſt having been, in ſome degree, deficient in anatomy, there are more

* Nos etiam eruditos habemus oculos.—Cic.

inſtances

inſtances of faults in this part of painting than in any other; for it is not enough to underſtand the true ſtructure and form of the muſcles of a human body, but to know how they will appear in every attitude and operation; a ſcience which probably no man hath ever had leiſure and genius to acquire ſufficiently. We are ſure that Michael Angelo, the moſt learned in this particular, hath frequently failed; Raphael ſtill oftener.

When a painter intends to repreſent a hiſtory (for example) the way commonly is to deſign the whole in his mind, to conſider what figures to bring in, and what they are to think, ſay, or do; and then to ſketch upon paper this his idea; and not only the invention but compoſition of his intended picture: This he may alter upon the ſame paper, or by making other ſketches, till he is pretty well determined (and this is the firſt ſenſe in which I ſaid the term drawing or deſigning was to be underſtood). In the next place his buſineſs is to conſult the life, and to make drawings of particular figures, or parts of figures, or of what elſe he intends to bring into his work, as he finds neceſſary; together alſo with proper ornaments, or other things belonging to his invention, as vaſes, frizes, trophies, &c. till he has brought his picture to ſome perfection on paper, either in theſe looſe ſtudies, or in one entire drawing. This is frequently done, and ſometimes theſe drawings are finiſhed very highly by the maſter, either that his diſciples might be able from them to make a greater progreſs in the grand work, and ſo leave the leſs for himſelf to do; or for the peruſal of the perſon for whom the picture was to be made, and who commonly could not make any judgment of what this would appear, but from ſuch a

finiſhed drawing; and perhaps ſometimes for his own pleaſure.

Of theſe drawings of all kinds, thoſe great maſters (whoſe names and memories are ſweet to all true lovers of the art) made very many; ſometimes ſeveral for the ſame work, and not only for the ſame picture, but for one figure, or part of a picture; and though too many are periſhed and loſt, a conſiderable number have eſcaped, and have been preſerved to our times; ſome very well, others not, as it has happened; and theſe are exceedingly prized by all who underſtand, and can ſee their beauty; for they are the very ſpirit and quinteſſence of the art: Here we ſee the ſteps the maſter took, the materials with which he made his finiſhed paintings, which are little other than copies of theſe, and frequently (at leaſt in part) by ſome other hand; but theſe are undoubtedly altogether his own, and true and proper originals.

It muſt be confeſſed, in the paintings you have the colours, and the laſt determination of the maſter, with the entire completion of the work. The thoughts and finiſhings are in a great meaſure ſeen in the prints of ſuch works of which prints are made, nor is a drawing deſtitute of colouring abſolutely; on the contrary, one frequently ſees beautiful tints in the paper, waſhes, ink, and chalks of drawings; but what is wanting in ſome reſpects is abundantly recompenſed in others; for in theſe works the maſters, not being embarraſſed with colours, have had a full ſcope and perfect liberty, which is a very conſiderable advantage. There is a ſpirit, a fire, a freedom, a delicacy in the drawings of Giulio Romano, Polidore, Parmeggiano, Guido, and even the Carraches themſelves, which are not to be ſeen in

their

their paintings. A pen or chalk will perform what cannot poſſibly be done with a pencil; and a pencil, with a thin liquid only, what cannot be done when one has a variety of colours to manage, eſpecially in oil.

And there is this farther conſideration to endear theſe drawings to us; no more can be had than what are now in being; no new ones can be made; the number of theſe muſt neceſſarily diminiſh by time and accidents, but cannot be ſupplied; the world muſt be content with what it has: For though there are ingenious men endeavouring to tread in the ſteps of theſe prodigies of art, whoſe works we are ſpeaking of, there is yet no appearance that any will equal them; though I am in hopes that our own country does, or will produce thoſe that will come as near them as any other nation, I mean as to hiſtory painting, for that we already excel all others in portraits is indiſputable.

The vaſt pleaſure I take in theſe great curioſities has carried me perhaps too far: I will only add, that the firſt ſketches not being intended to expreſs more than the general ideas, any incorrectneſs in the figures or perſpective, or the like, are not to be eſteemed as faults; exactneſs was not in the idea; the ſketch, notwithſtanding ſuch ſeeming faults, may ſhew a noble thought, and be executed with great ſpirit, which was all that was pretended to, and which being performed, it may be ſaid to be well drawn, although incorrect as to the other matters. But when correction is pretended to (and this is always the caſe of a finiſhed drawing or picture) then to have any defect in drawing, in this ſenſe of the term, is a fault.

COLOURING.

COLOURS are to the eye what ſounds are to the ear, taſtes to the palate, or any other object of our ſenſes are to thoſe ſenſes; and accordingly an eye that is delicate takes in proportionable pleaſure from beautiful ones, and is as much offended with their contraries. Good colouring therefore in a picture is of great conſequence, not only as it is a truer repreſentation of nature, where every thing is beautiful in its kind, but as adminiſtring a conſiderable degree of pleaſure to the ſenſe.

The colouring of a picture muſt be varied according to the ſubject, the time, and place.

If the ſubject be grave, melancholy or terrible, the general tinct of the colouring muſt incline to brown, black or red, and gloomy; but it muſt be gay and pleaſant in ſubjects of joy and triumph. This I will not enlarge upon here, having ſpoken to it already in the chapter of expreſſion. Morning, noon, evening, night; ſunſhine, wet, or cloudy weather, influences the colours of things; and if the ſcene of the picture be a room, open air, or partly open and partly incloſed, the colouring muſt be accordingly.

The diſtance alſo alters the colouring, becauſe of the medium of air through which every thing is ſeen, which being blue, the more remote any object is, the more it muſt partake of that colour; conſequently muſt have leſs force or ſtrength; the ground therefore, or whatſoever is behind a figure (for example) muſt not be ſo ſtrong as that figure is; nor any of its parts which retire and round off, as thoſe that come nearer the eye; and this

not

not only for the reaſon already given, but becauſe moreover there will always be reflections ſtronger, or weaker, that will diminiſh the force of the ſhadows; which reflections (by the way) muſt partake of the colours of thoſe things from whence they are produced.

Any of the ſeveral ſpecies of colours may be as beautiful in their kinds as the others; but one kind is more ſo than another, as having more variety, and conſiſting of colours more pleaſing in their own nature; in which, and the harmony, and agreèment of one tinct with another, the goodneſs of colouring conſiſts.

To ſhew the beauty of variety I will inſtance in a guelder-roſe, which is white; but as it hath many leaves one under another, and theſe lying hollow, ſo as to be ſeen through in ſome places, this occaſions ſeveral tincts of light and ſhadow; and, together with theſe, ſome of the leaves having a greeniſh tinct, the whole together produces that variety which gives a beauty not to be found in this paper, though it is white, nor in the inſide of an egg-ſhell though whiter, nor in any other white object that has not that variety.

And this is the caſe, though this flower be ſeen in a room in gloomy, or wet weather; but let it be expoſed to the open air when the ſky is ſerene, the blue that thoſe leaves, or parts of leaves that lie open to it, will receive, together with the reflections that then will alſo happen to ſtrike upon it, will give a great addition to its beauty: but let the ſun-beams touch up its leaves where they can reach with their fine yellowiſh tinct, the other retaining their ſky-blue, together with the ſhadows and briſk reflections it will then receive, you will ſee with delight what a perfection of beauty it

will have, not only becauſe the colours are more pleaſant in themſelves, but becauſe there is greater variety.

A ſky entirely blue would have leſs beauty than it has being always varied towards the horizon, and by the ſun-beams, whether riſing, ſetting, or in its progreſs; but neither thus hath it ſuch beauty as when more varied with clouds tinged with yellow, white, purple, &c.

A piece of ſilk or cloth hung or laid flat, hath not the beauty, though the colour of it be pleaſing, as when flung into folds; nay a piece of ſilk that hath little beauty in itſelf ſhall be much improved only by being pinked, watered, or quilted; the reaſon is, in theſe caſes there ariſes a variety produced by lights, ſhades, and reflections.

There are, as I ſaid, certain colours leſs agreeable than others, as a brick-wall, for example; yet when the ſun ſtrikes upon one part of it, and the ſky tinges another part of it, and ſhadows and reflections the reſt, this variety ſhall give even that a degree of beauty.

Perfect black, and white are diſagreeable; for which reaſon a painter ſhould break thoſe extreams of colours that there may be a warmth, and mellowneſs in his work: let him (in fleſh eſpecially) remember to avoid the chalk, the brick, and the charcoal, and think of a pearl, and a ripe peach.

But, it is not enough that the colours in themſelves be beautiful ſingly, and that there be variety, they muſt be ſet by one another ſo as to be mutually aſſiſtant to each other *; and this not only in the object painted, but in the ground, and what-

* Sic poſitæ, quoniam ſuaves miſcetis odores, as Virgil ſays of flowers on a like occaſion.

ſoever

ſoever comes into the compoſition; ſo as that every part, and the whole together may have a pleaſing effect to the eye; ſuch a harmony as a good piece of muſick has to the ear; but for which, in either caſe no certain rules can be given: except in ſome few general caſes which are very obvious, and need not therefore be mentioned here.

The beſt that can be done is to adviſe one that would know the beauty of colouring, to obſerve nature, and how the beſt colouriſts have imitated her.

What a lightneſs, thinneſs, and tranſparency, what a warmth, cleanneſs, and delicacy is to be ſeen in life, and in good pictures!

He that would be a good colouriſt himſelf muſt moreover practiſe much after, and for a conſiderable time accuſtom himſelf to ſee, well-coloured pictures only: but even this will be in vain, unleſs he has a good eye in the ſenſe, as one is ſaid to have a good ear for muſick; he muſt not only ſee well, but have a particular delicacy with relation to the beauty of colours, and the infinite variety of tincts.

The Venetian, Lombard, and Flemiſh ſchools have excelled in colouring; the Florentine and Roman in deſign; the Bologneſe maſters in both; but not to the degree generally as either of the other. Corregio, Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Rubens, and Vandyke, have been admirable colouriſts; the latter in his beſt things has followed common nature extreamly cloſe, perhaps too cloſe!

Raphael's colouring, eſpecially in his ſhadows, is blackiſh: this was occaſioned by the uſe of a ſort of printer's black *, and which has changed its

* See Giorgio Vaſari in his life.

tinct, though it was warm, and glowing at first, upon which account he was fond of it, though he was advised what would be the consequence. However by the vast progress he made in colouring after he applied himself to it, it is judged he would in this part of painting also have excelled, as in the others; here would have been a double prodigy! since no one man has ever possessed even colouring and designing to that, or any very considerable degree.

Though the cartons are some of the last of his works, it must be confessed the colouring of them is not equal to the drawing; but at the same time time neither can it be denied but that he that painted those could colour well, and would have coloured better. It must be considered they were made for patterns for tapestry, not professed pictures, and painted, not in oil, but in distemper: if therefore one sees not the warmth, and mellowness, and delicacy of colouring which is to be found in Corregio, Titian, or Rubens, it may fairly be imputed in a great measure to these causes. A judicious painter has other considerations relating to the colouring when he makes patterns for tapestry to be heightened with gold and silver, than when he paints a picture without any such view; nor can a sort of dryness and harshness be avoided in distemper, upon paper: time moreover has apparently changed some of the colours. In a word, the tout-ensemble of the colours is agreeable, and noble; and the parts of it are in general extreamly, but not superlatively good.

I will only add one observation here concerning the colours of the draperies of the apostles which are always the same in all the cartons, only St. Peter

Peter when he is a fiſherman has not his large apoſtolical drapery on. This apoſtle, when dreſſed, wears a yellow drapery over his blue coat; St. John a red one over a green; ſo does St. Paul; which is alſo the ſame that he wears in the famous St. Cecilia, which was painted a little before.

HANDLING.

BY this term is underſtood the manner in which the colours are left by the pencil upon the picture; as the manner of uſing the pen, chalk, or pencil in a drawing is the handling of that drawing.

This conſidered in itſelf abſtractedly is only a piece of mechanicks, and is well or ill as it is performed with a curious and expert, or heavy and clumſy hand; and this whether it is ſmooth or rough, or however it is done; for in all the manners of working, the pencil may be well or ill in their kind; and a fine light hand is ſeen as much in a rough, as in a ſmooth manner.

I confeſs I love to ſee a freedom and delicacy of hand in painting as in any other piece of work; it hath its merit. Though, to ſay a picture is juſtly imagined, well diſpoſed, truly drawn, is great, has grace, or the other good qualities of a picture; and withal that it is finely handled, is as if one ſhould ſay a man is virtuous, wiſe, good natured, valiant, or the like, and is alſo handſome.

But the handling may be ſuch as to be not only good, abſtractedly conſidered, but as being proper, and adding a real advantage to the picture: and then, to ſay a picture hath ſuch and ſuch

good

good properties, and is alſo well handled (in that ſenſe) is as to ſay a man is wiſe, virtuous, and the like, and is alſo handſome, and perfectly well bred.

Generally if the character of the picture is greatneſs, terrible, or ſavage, as battles, robberies, witchcrafts, apparitions, or even the portraits of men of ſuch characters, there ought to be employed a rough, bold pencil; and contrarily, if the character is grace, beauty, love, innocence, &c. a ſofter pencil, and more finiſhing is proper.

It is no objection againſt a ſketch, if it be left unfiniſhed, and with bold rough touches, though it be little, and to be ſeen near, and whatſoever its character be; for thus it anſwers its end, and the painter would after that be imprudent to ſpend more time upon it. But generally ſmall pictures ſhould be well wrought.

Jewels, gold, ſilver, and whatſoever has ſmart brightneſs, require bold, rough touches of the pencil in the heightenings.

The pencil ſhould be left pretty much in linen, ſilks, and whatſoever has a gloſſineſs.

All large pictures, and whatſoever is ſeen at a great diſtance ſhould be rough; for beſides that it would be loſs of time to a painter to finiſh ſuch things highly, ſince diſtance would hide all that pains; thoſe bold roughneſſes give the work a greater force, and keep the tincts diſtinct.

The more remote any thing is ſuppoſed to be, the leſs finiſhing it ought to have. I have ſeen a fringe to a curtain in the back-ground of a picture, which perhaps was half a day in painting, but might have been better done in a minute.

There is often a ſpirit and beauty in a quick, or perhaps an accidental management of the chalk,

pen, pencil, or bruſh in a drawing, or painting, which it is impoſſible, or very difficult to preſerve, if it be more finiſhed. It is better therefore to incur the cenſure of the injudicious, than to hazard the loſing ſuch advantages to the picture. Apelles, comparing himſelf with Protogenes, ſaid, 'Perhaps 'he is equal, if not ſuperior to me in ſome things, 'but I am ſure I excel him in this: I know when 'to have done.'

Fleſh in pictures to be ſeen at a common diſtance, and eſpecially portraits, ſhould (generally ſpeaking) be well wrought up, and then touched upon every where in the principal lights and ſhadows, and to pronounce the features; and this more, or leſs, according to the ſex, age, or character of the perſon, avoiding narrow or long continued ſtrokes, as in the eye-lids, mouth, &c. and too many ſharp ones: this being done by a light hand judiciouſly, gives a ſpirit, and retains the ſoftneſs of fleſh.

In ſhort, the painter ſhould conſider what manner of handling will beſt conduce to the end he propoſes, the imitation of nature, or the expreſſing thoſe raiſed ideas he has conceived of poſſible perfection in nature, and that he ought to turn his pencil to; always remembering that what is ſooneſt done is beſt, if it is equally good upon all other accounts.

There are two miſtakes very common; one is, becauſe a great many good pictures are very rough painted, people fancy that is a good picture that is ſo. There is bold painting, but there is alſo impudent painting. Others on the contrary judge of a picture not by their eyes, but by their fingers ends, they feel if it be good. Thoſe appear to know little of the true beauties of the art, that

thus

thus fix upon the leaſt conſiderable circumſtance of it as if it were all, or the principal thing to be conſidered.

The cartons, as they are properly no other than coloured drawings, are handled accordingly, and extreamly well. The fleſh is generally pretty much finiſhed, and then finely touched upon. There is much hatching with the point of a large pencil upon a prepared ground. The hair is made with ſuch a pencil for the moſt part.

Leonardo da Vinci had a wonderous delicacy of hand in finiſhing highly; but Giorgione and Corregio have eſpecially been famous for a fine, that is, a light, eaſy, and delicate pencil. You ſee a free, bold handling in the works of Titian, Paul Veroneſe, Tintoretto, Rubens, the Borgognone, Salvator Roſa, &c. The Malteſe had a very particular manner, he painted chiefly Turkey-work'd carpets, and left the pencil as rough as the carpet itſelf, and admirably well in its kind. For works at a great diſtance, Lanfranc had a noble manner of handling; as particularly in the cupola of St. Andrea della Valle, which is in freſco, and where the colours are flung on with a ſpunge, inſtead of a pencil or a bruſh; not for a whim, but as moſt proper to the purpoſe; and an eye (for example) appears near, as one rude ſpot; but, as it ought, at its intended diſtance. Perhaps no man ever managed a pencil in all the ſeveral manners better than Vandyke.

GRACE AND GREATNESS.

THERE is ſome degree of merit in a picture where nature is exactly copied, though in a low ſubject; ſuch as drolls, country wakes, flowers, landſcapes, &c. and more in proportion as the ſubject riſes, or the end of the picture is this exact repreſentation. Herein the Dutch and Flemiſh maſters have been equal to the Italians, if not ſuperior to them in general. What gives the Italians, and their maſters, the ancients, the preference, is, that they have not ſervilely followed common nature, but raiſed and improved, or at leaſt have always made the beſt choice of it. This gives a dignity to a low ſubject, and is the reaſon of the eſteem we have for the landſcapes of Salvator Roſa, Philippo Laura, Claude Lorrain, the Pouſſins; the fruit of the two Michael Angelo's, the Battaglia and Campadoglio; the flowers of Mario da Fiori; and this, when the ſubject itſelf is noble, is the perfection of painting: As in the beſt portraits of Vandyke, Rubens, Titian, Raphael, &c. and the hiſtories of the beſt Italian maſters, chiefly thoſe of Raphael, he is the great model of perfection! All the painters being ranked in three ſeveral claſſes according to the degrees of their merit, he muſt be allowed to poſſeſs the firſt alone.

Common nature is no more fit for a picture than plain narration is for a poem. A painter muſt raiſe his ideas beyond what he ſees, and form a model of perfection in his own mind which is not to be found in reality; but yet ſuch a one as is probable and rational. Particularly with reſpect to mankind, he muſt as it were raiſe the whole ſpecies,

ſpecies, and give them all imaginable beauty and grace, dignity and perfection; every ſeveral character, whether it be good or bad, amiable or deteſtable, muſt be ſtronger and more perfect.

At court, and elſewhere, amongſt people of condition, one ſees another ſort of beings than in the country, or the remote and inferior parts of the town; and amongſt theſe there are ſome few that plainly diſtinguiſh themſelves by their noble and graceful airs and manner. There is an eaſy gradation in all nature; the moſt ſtupid of animals are little more than vegetables, the moſt ſagacious and cunning are hardly inferior to the loweſt order of men, as the wiſeſt and moſt virtuous of theſe, we are aſſured, are little below the angels.* One may conceive an order ſuperior to what can any where be found on our globe; a kind of new world may be formed in the imagination, conſiſting, as this, of people of all degrees and characters, only heightened and improved: A beautiful genteel woman muſt have her defects overlooked, and what is wanting to compleat her character ſupplied: A brave man, and one honeſtly and wiſely purſuing his own intereſt, in conjunction with that of his country, muſt be imagined more brave, more wiſe, more exactly and inflexibly honeſt than any we know, or can hope to ſee: A villain muſt be conceived to have ſomething more diabolical than is to be found even amongſt us; a gentleman muſt be more ſo, and a peaſant have more of the gentleman, and ſo of the reſt. With ſuch as theſe an artiſt muſt people his pictures.

Thus the antients have done. Notwithſtanding the great and exalted ideas we may have of the

* See my father's hymn to the morning ſtar, n. 3. of his morning thoughts. MS.

people

people of thoſe times from their hiſtories (which probably are improved by the hiſtorians * uſing the ſame management in their writings as I am recommending to the painters; it was the poet's proper buſineſs ſo to do) one can hardly believe them to be altogether ſuch as we ſee in the antique ſtatues, bas-reliefs, medals, and intaglias. And thus the beſt modern painters and ſculptors have done. Michael Angelo no where ſaw ſuch living figures as he cut in marble. Raphael ſays, himſelf, writing to his great friend the famous count Baldaſſar Caſtiglione, on occaſion of the Galatea he was then painting, "To repreſent a perfect "beauty, I muſt examine ſeveral beautiful women; "with this condition alſo, that your excellency "would be by, to aſſiſt me in ſelecting the moſt "beautiful parts of the moſt beautiful ſeverally; "but as there is a ſcarcity of truly fine perſons, "and perhaps a ſtill greater of true judges, whoſe "advice I can avail myſelf of, I am obliged to "recur to a certain model of accompliſhed beauty "that I have formed in my own mind."

Bellori hath given the whole letter in his deſcription of the pictures of Raphael in the Vatican.

A Bologneſe nobleman, a great patron of Guercino's, was induced by this laſt to endeavour to get out of Guido what woman was the model he made uſe of for his fine and gracious airs of heads. Accordingly he came to ſee him; and in converſation, while he was admiring one of his fine heads, "for God's ſake, Signior Guido, what aſto-"niſhing beauty of a girl do you hug up to your-"ſelf, that ſupplies you with ſuch divine airs?"

* This they ought not to have done, but they did.

——— Quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in hiſtoria.

"I

" I will ſhew you," ſaid Guido, (who found what he was about) ſo he called his colour-grinder, a great greaſy fellow, with a brutal look like the devil, and bade him ſit down, and turn his head and look up to the ſky; and then, taking his chalk, drew a Magdalen after him, exactly in the ſame view and attitude, and ſame lights and ſhadows, but as handſome as an angel. The count thought it was done by enchantment. " No," ſaid Guido, " my dear count; but tell your pain-" ter, that the beautiful and pure idea muſt be in " the head, and then it is no matter what the mo-" del is." Felſina Pittrice, tom. ii. p. 80.

When a man enters into that awful gallery at Hampton-Court, he finds himſelf amongſt a ſort of people ſuperior to what he has ever ſeen, and very probably to what thoſe really were. Indeed this is the principal excellence of thoſe wonderful pictures, as it muſt be allowed to be that part of painting which is preferable to all others.

What a grace and majeſty is ſeen in the great apoſtle of the Gentiles in all his actions, preaching, rending his garments, denouncing vengeance upon the ſorcerer! What a dignity is in the other apoſtles wherever they appear, particularly the prince of them in the carton of the death of Ananias! How infinitely and divinely great, with all his gentleneſs and ſimplicity, is the Chriſt in the boat! But theſe are exalted characters which have a delicacy in them as much beyond what any of the gods, demi-gods, or heroes of the ancient heathens can admit of, as the chriſtian religion excels the ancient ſuperſtition. The proconſul Sergius Paulus has a greatneſs and grace ſuperior to his character, and equal to what one can ſuppoſe Julius Cæſar, Auguſtus, Trajan, or the greateſt amongſt

amongſt the Romans to have had. The common people are like gentlemen; even the fiſhermen, the beggars, have ſomething in them much above what we ſee in thoſe orders of men.

And the ſcenes are anſwerable to the actors; not even the beautiful gate of the temple, nor any part of the firſt temple, nor probably any building in the world had that beauty and magnificence as appears in what we ſee in the carton of healing the cripple. Athens and Lyſtra appear in theſe cartons to be beyond what we can ſuppoſe they were when Greece was in its utmoſt glory: Even the place where the apoſtles were aſſembled (in the carton of Ananias) is no common room; and though the ſteps and rails which were made on purpoſe for them for the exerciſe of their new function, have ſomething expreſſive of the poverty and ſimplicity of the infant church, the curtain behind, which alſo is part of the apoſtolical equipage, gives a dignity even to that.

It is true there are ſome characters which are not to be improved, as there are others impoſſible to be perfectly conceived, much leſs expreſſed. The idea of God no created being can comprehend, the divine mind only can, and it is the brighteſt there, and infinitely bright!

No ſtatue or picture, no words can reach this character; the Coloſſean ſtatue of Phidias, the pictures of Raphael, are but faint ſhadows of this infinite and incomprehenſible being. The Thunderer, the Beſt and Greateſt: The Father of Gods and Men, of Homer: The Elohim, the Jehovah, the I Am that I Am of Moſes: The Lord of Hoſts of the Prophets: Nay, The God and Father of our Lord Jeſus Chriſt: The Alpha and Omega: The All in All of the New Teſtament.

Theſe give us not an adequate idea of him; though that comes neareſt where not terror and fury, but majeſty, power, wiſdom, and goodneſs, are beſt expreſſed. "For God is Love."

* May thy idea ever dwell with me,
From reaſon, not from prejudice deriv'd,
Enlarg'd, improv'd, and brighten'd more and more,
As oriental day, ſerene and ſweet,
When ſpring and ſummer for the prize contend:
The richeſt cordial for the heart! a light
Diſcovering error's infinite labyrinths!
The ornament and treaſure of the ſoul!
Imperfect as it is.————

That incomparable hand which painted the hiſtory of Cupid and Pſyche, in the palace of Chigi at Rome, has carried the fictitious deities of the heathens as high as poſſible, but not beyond what ſhould be conceived of them; as Michael Angelo Buonarota (particularly in two or three drawings I have of him) hath made devils not ſuch as low geniuſes repreſent them, but like thoſe of Milton;

———— His face
Deep ſcars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
Sat on his faded cheek, but under brows,
Of dauntleſs courage, and conſiderate pride
Waiting revenge: Cruel his eye————
MILTON's Par. Loſt, B. I. l. 600.

But the proper idea of a devil has ſuch an exceſs of evil in it as cannot be exaggerated: In all ſuch caſes it is ſufficient if all be done that can be done: The painter muſt ſhew what he aims at, he muſt give him who views the picture all the aſſiſtance he can, and then leave him to ſupply the reſt in

* This from his Hymn to God, ver. 286. MS.

his own imagination; which he will do in proportion as his imagination is lively and correct;

Ipse sibi tradit spectator.

There are other characters which, though inferior to these, are so noble, that he must be a happy man who can conceive them justly, but more so if he can express them: Such are those of Moses, Homer, Xenophon, Alcibiades, Scipio, Cicero, Raphael, &c. If we see these pretended to be given in picture, we expect to see them

——— Comely, and in act
Rais'd, as of some great matter to begin.
As when of old some orator renown'd
In Athens, or free Rome, where eloquence
Flourish'd, since mute, to some great cause address'd
Stood in himself collected, while each part,
Motion, each act won audience e'er the tongue.
MILTON's Par. Lost, B. IX. l. 668.

We expect all that greatness and grace I have been recommending; all is necessary here in order to satisfy us that the history is truly related; as the pleasure we take in having our minds filled with fine and extraordinary ideas is a sufficient reason for raising all the more inferior characters. Life would be an insipid thing indeed if we never saw or had ideas of any thing but what we commonly see, a company of aukward and silly-looking people, doing what is of no consequence but to themselves in their own little affairs; and to see such in picture can give no great pleasure to any who have a true and refined taste.

A history painter must describe all the various characters, real or imaginary; and that, in all their situations, pleased, grieved, angry, hoping, fearing, &c. A face painter has to do with all the

real characters, except only some few of the meanest, and the most sublime; but not with that variety of sentiments as the other. The whole business of his life is to describe the golden age, when

> ——— Universal Pan
> Knit with the graces, and the hours in dance
> Led on th' eternal spring.
> MILTON's Par. Lost, B. IV. l. 266.

Every one of his people therefore must appear pleased and in good humour; but varied suitably to the raised character of the person drawn; whether this tranquillity and delight be supposed to arise from the sight of a friend, a reflection upon a scheme well laid, a battle gained, success in love, a consciousness of one's own worth, beauty, wit; agreeable news, truth discovered, or from whatever other cause. If a devil were to have his portrait made, he must be drawn as abstracted from his own evil, and stupidly good (to use Milton's words once again).

If some grave characters require an air of thoughtfulness, as if engaged in a diligent search after truth, or in some important project, they must however not appear displeased, unless in some rare instances, as Vandyke has put something of sorrow in one picture of his unfortunate patron king Charles I. (I mean that at Hampton-Court) which I believe was done when he was entering into his troubles, and which is therefore in that respect historical. In general, the painting-room must be like Eden before the fall, like Arcadia; no joyless, turbulent passions must enter there.

Thus, to raise the character, to divest an unbred person of his rusticity, and give him something at least of a gentleman, to make one of a moderate

moderate ſhare of good ſenſe appear to have a competency, a wiſe man to be more wiſe, and a brave man to be more ſo, a modeſt, diſcreet woman to have an air ſomething angelical, and ſo of the reſt; and then to add that joy, or peace of mind at leaſt, and in ſuch a manner as is ſuitable to the ſeveral characters, is abſolutely neceſſary to a good face painter; but it is the moſt difficult part of his art, and the laſt attained; perhaps it is never ſo much as thought of by ſome: All that they aim at is to make ſuch a likeneſs of the face as ſhall be known immediately; and that it be young, fair, and handſome; and frequently thoſe for whom the pictures are made expect no more; whether the characters of wiſdom or folly be impreſſed upon them it matters not. Accordingly we ſee portraits which are perfect burleſques upon the minds of the perſons drawn; a wiſe man ſhall appear with the air of a fop; a man of ſpirit and wit, like a ſmart or a pretty fellow; a modeſt ingenious man like a beau; a virtuous lady as a mere coquet.

The duke of Buckingham [Villiers] in ſome company where they were talking of a certain lady, they aſked him, "If he knew her?" He ſaid, "He did not." "Why," ſaid they, "that is "ſtrange, becauſe ſhe is one of the moſt extraor-"dinary women perhaps in England. She hath "a vaſt capacity in every branch of knowledge, "a great deal of ready wit; hath even learning, "not only French and Italian, but claſſical too; "and withal hath as much goodneſs as ſhe hath "parts." "Ay," ſaid the duke, "but then ſhe "is damned ugly." "Why, you ſaid you did "not know her." "No, but a woman whoſe "beauty is not the firſt quality to be boaſted of,

"I am ſure hath none to boaſt of." A painter ſhould obſerve and pronounce ſtrongly the brighteſt part of the character of him he draws. To give an air of youth and gaiety to the portrait of one who is entitled to nothing higher, is well enough; but to overlook a noble and ſublime character, and ſubſtitute this in the place of it, is unpardonable. The only ſuppoſing a man capable of being pleaſed with ſuch a piece of falſe flattery, is a lampoon upon his underſtanding.

Nor is the beauty of the face and perſon, whether as to the age, feature, ſhape or colour to be unregarded, or (where it can be done) unimproved: Indeed ſomething of this will naturally fall in when the mind is expreſſed, which cannot be done to advantage without giving ſome to the body.

But the face painter is under a greater conſtraint in both reſpects than he that paints hiſtory; the additional grace and greatneſs he is to give, above what is to be found in the life, muſt not be thrown in too profuſely, the reſemblance muſt be preſerved, and appear with vigour; the picture muſt have both. Then it may be ſaid, that the gentleman or lady makes a fine or a handſome picture: But the likeneſs not being regarded, it is not they but the painter that makes it; nor is there any great difficulty in making ſuch fine pictures.

But there is a very great one indeed, and it is the laſt effort of a truly ſkilful portrait painter, ſo to improve, as to be ſtill preſently known; though this cannot always ſucceed to the greateſt, becauſe ſome eyes cannot diſcover a likeneſs that departs ever ſo little, with what advantage ſoever, from what they ſee before them.

Some

Some company coming to see their son's picture at Sir Godfrey Kneller's, stood staring about the room to look for it; and then asked Sir Godfrey where it was, when it was all the while before them. This did not use to be the case with him; and accordingly he was provoked, yet kept his temper; but as soon as they were gone, he turned to Bing, who always attended him on these occasions, "My God, Bing, I did never paint a liker "picture than that young lord; but, by God man, "I did put a little sense in his face, and now his "friends do not know their fool again."

I was lately observing, with a great deal of pleasure, how the ancients had succeeded in the three several ways of managing portraits: I happened to have then before me (amongst others) several medals of the emperor Maximinus, who was particularly remarkable for a long chin: One medal of him had that, but that the artist might be sure of a likeness, he had exaggerated it: Another had a mind to flatter, and he had pared off about half of it: But these as they wanted the just resemblance, so there was a poverty in them; they were destitute of that life and spirit which the other had, where nature seems to have been more closely followed. In making portraits we must keep nature in view; if we launch out into the deep we are lost.

What it is that gives the grace and greatness I am treating of, whether in history or portraits, is hard to say. The following rules may however be of some use on this occasion.

The airs of the heads must especially be regarded. This is commonly the first thing taken notice of, when one comes into company, or into any public assembly, or at the first sight of any particular

perſon; * and this firſt ſtrikes the eye, and affects the mind when we ſee a picture, a drawing, &c.

The ſame regard muſt be had to every action and motion. The figures muſt not only do what is proper, and in the moſt commodious manner, but as people of the beſt ſenſe, and breeding, (their character being conſidered) would, or ſhould perform ſuch actions †. The painter's people muſt be good actors; they muſt have learned to uſe a human body well; they muſt ſit, walk, lie, ſalute, do every thing with grace. There muſt be no awkward, ſheepiſh, or affected behaviour, no ſtrutting, or ſilly pretence to greatneſs; no bombaſt in action: nor muſt there be any ridiculous contorſion of the body, nor even ſuch appearances, or fore-ſhortenings as are diſpleaſing to the eye, though the ſame attitude in another view might be perfectly good.

The contours muſt be large, ſquare, and boldly pronounced to produce greatneſs; and delicate, and finely waved and contraſted to be gracious. There is a beauty in a line, in the ſhape of a finger, or toe, even in that of a reed, or leaf, or the moſt inconſiderable things in nature: I have drawings of Giulio Romano of ſomething of this kind; his inſects and vegetables are natural, but as

* A face painter ſhould frequently reflect on that fine ſaying of the great Iſabella of Caſtile, "That an agreeable air was a "letter of recommendation;" and not forget that ſtory that Pliny tells of a certain queen, whom a painter (for ſome injury he thought he had received from her) painted in the arms of a groom; but then he had painted her moſt exquiſitely beautiful, and ſo ſhe forgave him.

† They muſt be like Tibullus Sulpicia,

Illam, quicquid agit, quoque veſtigia flectit,
Componit furtim, ſubſequiturque decor.

much

much above thoſe of other painters as his men are: there is that in theſe things which common eyes ſee not, but which the great maſters know how to give, and they only.

But this is not all: nature with all its beauties has its poverties, ſuperfluities, and defects, which are to be avoided, and ſupplied; but with great care, and judgment, that inſtead of exceeding nature, it be not injured.

The draperies muſt have broad maſſes of light and ſhadow, and noble large folds to give a greatneſs; and theſe artfully ſubdivided, add grace. As in that admirable figure of St. Paul preaching, of which I have already ſpoken, the drapery would have had a greatneſs if that whole broad light had been kept, and that part which is flung over his ſhoulder, and hangs down his back had been omitted: but this adds alſo a grace. Not only the large folds and maſſes muſt be obſerved, but the ſhapes of them, or they may be great, but not beautiful.

The linen muſt be clean and fine; the ſilks and ſtuffs new; and the beſt of the kind.

Lace, embroidery, gold and jewels muſt be ſparingly employed. Nor are flowered ſilks ſo much uſed by the beſt maſters as plain; nor theſe ſo much as ſtuffs, or fine cloth; and this not to ſave themſelves trouble, of which at the ſame time they have been profuſe enough in a more proper place. In the cartons Raphael hath ſometimes made ſilks, and ſome of his draperies are ſcolloped, ſome a little ſtriped, ſome edged with a kind of gold lace, but generally they are plain. Though he ſeems to have taken more pains than needed in the landſcapes, as he hath alſo in thoſe badges of ſpiritual dignity on the heads of Chriſt, and the apoſtles:

apoſtles: but theſe, as all other enſigns of grandeur and diſtinction, as they have been wiſely invented to procure reſpect, awe and veneration, give a greatneſs, as well as beauty to a picture.

It is of importance to a painter to conſider well the manner of cloathing his people. Mankind have ſhewn an infinite variety of fancy in this, and for the moſt part have diſguiſed rather than adorned human bodies. But the trueſt taſte in this matter the ancient Greeks and Romans ſeem to have had; at leaſt the great idea we have of thoſe brave people prejudices us in favour of whatever is theirs, ſo that it ſhall appear to us to be graceful and noble: upon either of which accounts, whether of a real or imagined excellence, that manner of cloathing is to be choſen by a painter when the nature of his ſubject will admit of it. Poſſibly, improvements may be made, and ſhould be endeavoured, provided one keeps this antique taſte in view, ſo as to preſerve the benefit of prejudice juſt now ſpoken of. And this very thing Raphael hath done with great ſucceſs, particularly in the cartons. Thoſe who, in repreſenting ancient ſtories, have followed the habits of their own times, or gone off from the antique, have ſuffered by it; as moſt of thoſe of the Venetian ſchool have done.

But howſoever a figure is clad, this general rule is to be obſerved, that neither muſt the naked be loſt in the drapery, nor too conſpicuous; as in many of the ſtatues, and baſ-reliefs of the ancients, and which (by the way) they were forced to, becauſe to have done otherwiſe would not have had a good effect in ſtone. The naked in a cloathed figure, like the anatomy in a naked one, ſhould be ſhewn, but not with affectation.

Portrait

Portrait painters, seeing the disadvantage they were under in following the dress commonly worn, have invented one peculiar to pictures in their own way, which is a composition partly this, and partly something purely arbitrary.

Such is the ordinary habit of the ladies, that how becoming soever they may be supposed, as being worn by them, or such as we are accustomed to, or upon whatever other account, it is agreed on all hands that in a picture they have but an ill air; and accordingly are rejected for what the painters have introduced in lieu of it, which is indeed handsome, and perhaps may be improved.

In the gentlemens pictures the case is very different, it is not not so easy to determine as to their drapery.

What is to be said for the common dress is, that

It gives a greater resemblance; and

Is historical as to that article.

The arguments for the other are, that

They suit better with the ladies pictures, which (as has been observed) are universally thus dressed;

They are not so affected with the change of the fashion as the common dress; and

Are handsomer; that is, have more Grace and Greatness.

Let us see how the case will stand, this latter consideration of handsomeness being for the present set aside.

The first argument in favour of the arbitrary loose dress seems to have no great weight; nor is there so much as is commonly thought in the second; because in those pictures which have that kind of drapery, so much of the dress of the time

time is always, and muſt be retained, and this in the moſt obvious, and material parts, that they are influenced by the change of faſhion in a manner as much as thoſe in the habit commonly worn. For proof of this I refer you to what was done when the great wigs, and ſpreading huge neck-cloths were in faſhion. So that here does not ſeem to be weight enough to balance againſt what is on the other ſide, even when the greateſt improvement as to the colour, or materials of the common dreſs is made, for ſtill there will be a ſufficient advantage upon account of reſemblance and hiſtory, to keep down the ſcale.

Let us now take in the argument of Grace and Greatneſs, and ſee what effect that will have.

The way to determine now is to fix upon the manner of following the common dreſs, whether it ſhall be with, or without improvement, and in what proportion: this being done, let that you have fixed upon be compared with the arbitrary looſe dreſs in competition with it, and ſee if the latter has ſo much the advantage in Grace and Greatneſs as to over-balance what the other had, when theſe were not taken in: if it hath, this is to be choſen; if not, the common dreſs.

Thus I have put the matter into the beſt method I was able in order to aſſiſt thoſe concerned to determine for themſelves, which they can beſt do, fancy having ſo great a part in the affair. And ſo much for this controverſy.

As it hath been frequently obſerved, but never accounted for that I know of, that a portrait ſeems to look at every one in the room, from whatever point it is ſeen; I will here explain the miſtery. It conſiſts only in this; the life is round, the picture is flat; look at a man, the lines vary with

with your poſition; it is otherwiſe with a portrait; there you always ſee thoſe of an eye bent on him with whom the perſon converſeth; the eye was drawn to view that which views the eye; nor can your change of place move the painted feature from its given direction.

There is an artificial Grace and Greatneſs ariſing from the oppoſition of their contraries. As, in the tent of Darius by Le Brun, the wife and daughters of that prince owe ſomething of their beauty and majeſty to the hideous figures that are about them. But a greater man than Le Brun ſeems to have condeſcended to be beholden to this artifice in the banquet of the gods at the marriage of Cupid and Pſyche; for Venus who comes in dancing is ſurrounded with foyles, as, the Hercules, the face of his lion's ſkin, Vulcan, Pan, and the maſk in her hand of the muſe next to her. Some ſubjects carry this advantage along with them; as, the ſtory of Andromeda and the monſter; Galatea with the Tritons; and in all ſuch where the two contraries, the maſculine and feminine beauties are oppoſed, (as the figures of Hercules and Dejanira for inſtance) theſe mutually raiſe, and ſtrengthen each other's characters. The holy family is alſo a very advantageous ſubject for the ſame reaſon. I need not enlarge here; the artifice is well known, and of great extent; it is practiſed by poets, hiſtorians, divines, &c. as well as painters.

What I have hitherto ſaid will be of little uſe to him who does not fill and ſupply his mind with noble images. A painter ſhould therefore read the beſt books, ſuch as Homer, Milton, Virgil, Spenſer, Thucydides, Livy, Plutarch, &c. but chiefly the holy ſcripture; where is to be found an inexhauſtible ſpring, and the greateſt variety of the moſt

moſt ſublime thoughts, expreſſed in the nobleſt manner in the world. He ſhould alſo frequent the brighteſt company, and avoid the reſt: Raphael was perpetually converſant with the fineſt geniuſes, and the greateſt men at Rome; and ſuch as theſe were his intimate friends. Giulio Romano, Titian, Rubens, Vandyke, &c. to name no more, knew well how to ſet a value upon themſelves in this particular. But the works of the beſt maſter in painting and ſculpture ſhould be as a painter's daily bread, and will afford him delicious nouriſhment.

Good God, what a noble ſpirit has human nature been honoured with! Look upon what the ancients have done; look into the gallery of Hampton-Court; turn over a book of well-choſen drawings, then will it be found that the Pſalmiſt was divinely inſpired, when, applying himſelf to his Creator, he ſaid of man, 'Thou haſt made him a 'little lower than the angels, thou haſt crowned 'him with glory, and honour!'

'If I had been ſhewn a picture of Raphael' (ſaid Carlo Maratti * to a friend of mine) 'and, not 'having ever heard of him, had been told it was 'the work of an angel, I ſhould have believed it.' The ſame friend aſſured me he had ſeen an entire book conſiſting of about two or three hundred drawings of heads which the ſame Carlo had made after that of the Antinoüs, and which he ſaid he had ſelected out of about ten times the number he

* This was Mr. Hugh Howard, an intimate acquaintance of Carlo's, as he was of my father; and who after his death was ſo good as to lend me, with leave to copy it which I did, a manuſcript he had himſelf made from Bellori's manuſcript life of this great maſter; and which Card. Albani had lent him to copy for himſelf, far more compleat than that afterwards publiſhed.

had

had drawn after that one head; but confeſſed he had never been able to reach what he ſaw in his model. Such was the excellency of the ſculptor! and ſuch the diligence, perſeverance, and modeſty of Carlo!

Fiamingo continuing to improve and poliſh a figure of his, that was his favourite production, (and is that of the flying Cupid that hath juſt ſhot his arrow, which we have here in England) a friend who ſtood by, ſaid, he could not imagine what he could add to the perfection it was then in. 'Ah, my dear friend,' ſaid he, 'you don't ſee the 'original that I am labouring to come up to, which 'is in my head, but not yet in my hand *.' And this hath ever been the caſe of all men of true and genuine genius, in all arts and ſciences; and I am perſuaded that the author of this Antinoüs did not expreſs all that himſelf conceived, no more than Fiamingo, who is, in my opinion, the foremoſt of all the modern ſculptors, both for correctneſs and purity of ſtyle; and comes the neareſt to, if he doth not wholly equal, the taſte of the author of that Antinoüs that Carlo Maratti was ſo juſtly fond of.

The ancients poſſeſſed both the excellent qualities I have been treating of, among whom Apelles is diſtinguiſhed for grace. Raphael was the modern Apelles, not however without a prodigious degree of greatneſs. His ſtyle is not perfectly antique, but ſeems to be the effect of a fine genius, accompliſhed by ſtudy in that excellent ſchool: it is not antique, but (may, I dare to ſay it) it is better, and that, by choice, by judgment! Giulio Romano had Grace and Greatneſs, more upon the antique taſte, but not without a great mixture of

* Bellori, vit. p. 281.

what

what is peculiarly his own, and admirably good, but never to be imitated *. Polidore in his beſt works was altogether antique. The old Florentine ſchool had a kind of greatneſs that, like Hercules in his cradle, promiſed wonders to come, and which promiſe was accompliſhed, in a great meaſure, by Leonardo da Vinci (who alſo had grace); but more fully and perfectly by Michael Angelo Buonarota: his ſtyle is his own, not antique, but he had a ſort of Greatneſs in the utmoſt degree, which ſometimes ran into the extream of terrible; though in many inſtances he has a fine ſeaſoning of Grace. I have a woman's head of him of a delicacy hardly inferior to Raphael, but retains the Greatneſs, which was his proper character. When Parmegiano copied him, and flung in his own ſweetneſs, they, together, make a fine compoſition, of which I have ſeveral examples: I do not ſay however that they are preferable to what is entirely of Michael Angelo, or to what is entirely of Parmegiano; but they are as if they were of another hand, of a character between both: for Parmegiano was infinitely ſweet! Grace ſhines in all he touched, and a Greatneſs ſupports it, ſo as one would not wiſh him other than he is; his ſtyle is entirely his own, not in the leaſt modern, nor very much upon the antique: what he did ſeems to flow from nature, and are the ideas of one in the golden age, or ſtate of innocence: rich in invention, and alway charming, with a certain greatneſs, which, though more condeſcending, and, as it were, familiar, than that of Raphael or of Michael Angelo, is not the leſs noble for being more delicious.

Multa directum levat aura cycnum.

Dear Parmeigano! I have a great number of ex-

* Decipit examplar vitiis imitabile. HOR.

quiſite

quiſite drawings of him. Baccio Bandinelli had a great ſtyle, and ſometimes not without grace. Corregio had grace not inferior to Parmegiano, and rather more greatneſs; but different in both from him, and from the antique: what he had was alſo his own, and was chiefly employed on religious ſubjects, or what had nothing terrible in them. Titian, Tintoret, Paulo Veroneſe, and others of the Venetian ſchool have greatneſs and grace, but it is not antique, however it is Italian. Annibale Carracci was rather great than genteel; though he was that too; and Guido's character is grace. Rubens was great, but raiſed upon a Flemiſh idea. Nicholas Pouſſin was truly great and graceful, and juſtly ſtyled the French Raphael. Salvator Roſa's landſcapes are great, as thoſe of Claude Lorrain are delicate: ſuch is the ſtyle of Filippo Laura; that of the Borgognone is great. To conclude, Vandyke had ſomething of both theſe good qualities, but not much, nor always; he generally kept to nature, choſen in its beſt moments, and ſomething raiſed and improved; for which reaſon he is in that particular, and when he fell not lower, the beſt model for portrait painting, unleſs we prefer a chimæra of the painter, to a true, or at moſt a civil repreſentation of ourſelves, or friends; and would have a cheat put upon poſterity; and our own, or friends reſemblance loſt, and forgotten for the ſake of it.

Quodcunque oſtendis mihi ſic incredulus odi.

As in reaſoning a man ought not to reſt upon authorities, but to have recourſe to thoſe principles on which theſe are, or ought to be founded; ſo, to rely upon what others have done, is to be always copying. A painter therefore ſhould have original ideas of Grace and Greatneſs, taken from

his own obſervation of nature, under the conduct and aſſiſtance however of thoſe who with ſucceſs have trod the ſame path before him. What he ſees excellent in others he muſt not implicitly follow, but make his own, by entering into the reaſon of the thing, as thoſe muſt have done who originally produced that excellence; for ſuch things happen not by chance.

The notions of mankind vary in relation to beauty; it may be worth a painter's while to obſerve what were thoſe the ancients had in theſe matters, and then to conſider whether they agree with the preſent taſte, and if they do not, whether they or we are in the right, if it can be determined by reaſon; if it depends upon fancy only, then let him conſider whether the prejudices we are apt to have for the ancients will ballance againſt the opinion of the preſent age. As to the draperies, the ancients muſt be ſtudied with caution, as has been already noted.

Inſtead of making caricaturas, a ſort of lampoons of peoples faces (a fooliſh cuſtom of burleſquing them, too much uſed) painters ſhould take a face*, and make an antique medal, or bas-relief of it, by diveſting it of its modern diſguiſes, raiſing the air and the features, and giving it

* Sir Godfrey Kneller had painted the duke of Hamilton's picture at whole length, and when quite finiſhed, ſent to him to deſire he would call and ſee it before it was ſent home, that, if there ſhould be any thing he would have altered, it might be done before it was hung up. The duke looked a great while at it, ſaid nothing; ſerious—went to the glaſs and looked at himſelf, returned to the picture; went back to the glaſs—rather out of humour.—Sir Godfrey was uneaſy, piqued—aſked, with ſome warmth, if his grace diſliked the picture. Z—d's, ſaid he, when I look in the glaſs I am a poltron, when I look there I am a man of quality. And then took out his pocket book, and preſented him with a bank bill. No, my lord, ſaid

it the dreſs of thoſe times, and ſuitable to the character intended. Our nation is allowed on all hands to furniſh as proper models as any other in the world, with reſpect to external grace and beauty: nor perhaps can ancient Greece or Rome boaſt of brighter characters than we; would to God we had not alſo as great inſtances of the contrary!

Laſtly †, a painter's own mind ſhould have Grace and Greatneſs; the mind itſelf ſhould be beautifully ‡, and nobly formed.

But, how beautiful and nobly formed ſoever the mind may be, it is moreover neceſſary that it ſhould enjoy repoſe and tranquillity. When it is pleaſed and joyous, then is the ſeaſon for theſe glorious qualities to exert themſelves in great and magnificent, as well as agreeable and gracious ideas; but above all, to have a clear and candid conſcience, and reſigned to whatever providence ſhall think fit. Then will the mind be turned up to enjoyment; indifferent things will be delicious, and calamities themſelves tolerable.

For, as in writing, pureſt excellence
Is ſeen, proportion'd to the reader's ſenſe;
As he the author's meaning penetrates
He judgeth, and to his mind the charm tranſlates;

ſaid ſir Godfrey, by God I will not receive more than one for the ſame picture; you haveover paid it already.—Dr. Campbell. This ſtory the duke told me, on having juſt read theſe books of my father, of which he ſaid to me, and Mr. Ramſey the painter, and a great deal of other company laſt night, (Sunday, his aſſembly night, 28 March 63.) the moſt obliging and the moſt ſenſible things; and among them, told this ſtory to explain what he thought my father had done by his ſubject, as he found it left by the other writers.

† As according to the Italian proverb, every painter paints himſelf.

‡ Michael Angelo ſaid, that "a painter ſhould not ſcrupulouſly follow the mechanical meaſure of his model, but "ſhould have the compaſſes in his eyes." Bellori, vit. p. 10.

So nature's form by him is loveliest seen
Who is himself most beautiful within.
The Author, Morning Thoughts (9 Aug. 41.)

For good in the barometer of life
Ascends and falls, nor ever fix'd remains:
But every season has peculiar sweets,
Or more, or less, which he who can extract,
And feed upon, has learn'd the art to live.
HYMN to GOD. MS.

There is no man, no nor any animal, or even created thing, that hath not its good and bad. The art, the wisdom, the happiness of mankind, the only rational being here, is, like the bee, to pick out, and with all his skill and industry, extract the honey; and not the poison, like the spider.

Some people may fancy it is of use to them to depreciate and be out of humour with every thing; it is of none to painters: They ought to view all things in the best light, and to the greatest advantage: They should do in life as I have been saying they must in their pictures; not make caricatures and burlesques; not represent things worse than they are; not amuse themselves with drollery and buffoonery; but raise and improve what they can, and carry the rest as high as possible.

Yet genius and industry are not alone sufficient; virtue, as it is truly great and lovely in itself, as it arises from the wisest and most noble sentiments, it produces such; and a mind impregnated with these is the most likely to conceive and execute what one polluted and incumbered with vice cannot. A virtuous man has generally more tranquillity, health and vigour, and consequently fewer interruptions and difficulties, and makes the best improvement of all his time; so that the common complaint

complaint of the ſhortneſs of life, with reſpect to the attainment of arts, and the accompliſhment of great deſigns, is not ſo juſt as it ſeems to be; it is ſhort, but men contract it by their own miſmanagement.

I know it will be ſaid, that great and lively ſpirits are naturally ſubject to violent paſſions and appetites, and difficult to be kept in due bounds: But is not this becauſe there is not yet ſtrength of mind enough? And though there have been great vicious men, would they not have been greater had they been virtuous? As to painters, it is true, many of them have been a ſcandal to their profeſſion; but theſe are, for the moſt part, of the loweſt claſs of the conſiderable painters: Thoſe whoſe works we ſo highly eſteem were men of ſolid ſenſe and virtue; or if ſome of them were not free from all vice, their faults were ſuch as are the moſt excuſable, ſuch as the beſt minds are ſuſceptible of; this hindered them not from being great men indeed; however, it is undeniable, had they arrived to a ſtrength of mind ſo as to be virtuous throughout, they had been greater painters than they were; and the world would have been better furniſhed, and more enriched and adorned with their works, as they would have enjoyed a greater ſhare of health, and have been longer lived.

A painter ought to have a ſweet and happy turn of mind, that great and lovely ideas may have an eaſy and natural reception there; and theſe enlarge that happineſs which themſelves were derived from; they nouriſh their amiable parent, and both mutually cheriſh each other. Few profeſſions have this advantage; lawyers, phyſicians, and divines, are frequently engaged in ſuch circumſtances, as though cuſtom may render them tolerable, yet can never be agreeable; and moreover have to do with

people too often when they are out of humour. A painter's head is, or ought to be, filled with the nobleſt thoughts of the deity, the braveſt actions of mankind in all ages, the fineſt and moſt exalted ideas of human nature, and he is to obſerve all the beauties of the creation. A face painter's buſineſs is with thoſe only who are in good humour, or will ſeem to be ſo while with him; this, if he has a true pictureſque taſte of pleaſure, will contribute exceedingly to produce this happy ſtate of mind which is ſo neceſſary to him. How great a variety ſoever there may be in mens taſtes of pleaſure, and what unhappy mixtures ſoever they may make, this will be generally allowed to be delightful. And there is one particular which I will remark, becauſe I believe it is not commonly taken notice of, and this is the vaſt advantage the ſight hath above the other ſenſes with reſpect to pleaſure; thoſe receive it, but it is by ſtarts and flaſhes, with long inſipid intervals, and frequently worſe; but the pleaſures of the eye are like thoſe of heaven, perpetual, and without ſatiety; and if offenſive objects appear, we can reject them in an inſtant. It is true other men may ſee, and will be in raptures where another is inſenſible. The painter Nicomaches, looking with tranſport at Zeuxis's Helena, ſaid to one who wondered what he could ſee there to be ſo delighted with, "Take my eyes, and you "will be as much delighted, but not with ſuch "eyes as a painter or a connoiſſeur ſees; they have "no ſpeculation in thoſe eyes which they do glare "with." A man is taught to ſee as he is other ſciences, for a ſcience it is, and a moſt uſeful and valuable one, as the beauties of nature open themſelves to our ſight by little and little, after a long practice in the art of ſeeing.* A judicious well-

* Quam multa vident pictores, quæ nos non videmus?

inſtructed

inſtructed eye ſees a wonderful beauty in the ſhapes and colours of the commoneſt things, and what are comparatively inconſiderable; nay, ſuch a one will diſcover ſomething pleaſing where another finds only poverty or deformity.

I am very ſenſible, as all created beings in the univerſe ſeek pleaſure as their chiefeſt good,† there is an infinite variety of taſtes with relation to it: Every ſpecies has ſome peculiar to themſelves, and man is in this an epitome of the whole; there are certain claſſes amongſt them who can no more reliſh or enjoy the pleaſure of others, than a fiſh can thoſe of a bird, or a tyger of a lamb: An enthuſiaſt, who ſhuts himſelf up in a monaſtery, does not forſake, but purſue pleaſure as eagerly as a debauché, only both reject what the other calls pleaſure, but which themſelves, as their minds are conſtituted, cannot enjoy, for what themſelves can have and reliſh; I neither blame nor pity thoſe who differ from me; it is very fit there ſhould be this variety of taſtes; if we were all of a mind we ſhould be perpetually at variance with one another; I only obſerve, that though another man may poſſibly deſpiſe what I have been ſpeaking of as a delicious kind of enjoyment, he that is incapable of this kind of pleaſure has not a mind truly turned for painting.

But not only that the mind may be at liberty, and in humour to apply itſelf to the fine ideas neceſſary to painters, and that it may be filled with the nobleſt and moſt beautiful ſentiments, they ſhould have grace and greatneſs there in order to put thoſe properties into their works: For (as it has been obſerved by others before me, and muſt

† Sequitur ſua quemque voluptas.

be true in the main from the nature of things) painters paint themſelves. A trifling ſpirit will naturally look about for and fix upon ſomething comical and foppiſh, if it be to be found, and will imagine it if it be not; that to him, is what great and beautiful is to another whoſe mind has a better turn. One will overlook or debaſe a fine character, the other will raiſe a mean one. "Do men gather grapes of thorns, or figs of "thiſtles?" Suppoſe a man well acquainted with the ſeveral ſtiles of Raphael and Michael Angelo, but a ſtranger to their characters, and let him be told that one of theſe artiſts was a fine gentleman, good-natured, prudent, modeſt, a companion and friend of the greateſt men, whether for quality or wit, then at Rome, and a favourite of Leo X. the politeſt man in the world; and that the other was rough, bold, fierce, &c. that he and Julius II. (the moſt impetuous ſpirit alive) mutually loved each other; I ſay let ſuch a one be told this, it would be impoſſible for him not to know which was the work of Raphael, and which of Michael Angelo. One might make the ſame experiment upon others with the like ſucceſs.

That the Greeks have had a beauty and majeſty in their ſculpture and painting beyond any other nation, is agreed on all hands; the reaſon is, they painted and carved themſelves. When you ſee and admire what they have done, remember Salamis and Marathon where they fought, and Thermopylæ where they devoted themſelves for the liberty of their country; "Go, ſtranger, tell the "Lacedemonians we lie here by their command," was written on the graves of theſe latter. When at the theatre, in a play of Æſchylus, ſomething was ſaid which favoured of impiety, the whole audience

audience took fire, and roſe at once, crying out, "Let us deſtroy the reproacher of the gods:" Amynias his brother immediately leaped upon the ſtage, and produced his ſhoulder, from whence he had loſt his arm at the battle of Salamis; alledging alſo the merit of his other brother Cynægyrus, who at the ſame time bravely ſacrificed himſelf for his country; the people unanimouſly condemned Æſchylus, but gave his life to his brother Amynias. Theſe were Greeks! Theſe were the people who ſhortly after carried painting and ſculpture to ſo great a height; they were ſuch men as theſe, who had that prodigious grace and greatneſs in their works which we ſo juſtly admire. Other nations have had greater advantages than they, except in this; but magnanimity was their characteriſtick.

The ancient Romans fill the ſecond place; grace and greatneſs is alſo in their works, for they were a brave people; but they confeſſed the ſuperiority of the other in condeſcending to be their imitators.

Longinus ſays, the Iliad of Homer is the flowing, and the Odyſſey is the ebbing of a great ocean. The ſame may be ſaid of the ancient and modern Italians.

O Rome! thou happy repoſitory of ſo many ſtupendous works of art which my longing eyes have never ſeen, nor ſhall ſee, thou wert fated to be the miſtreſs of the world! when (as in the natural courſe of ſublunary things it muſt happen) thou couldeſt no longer ſupport an empire, raiſed and maintained by arms, thou (upon a foundation, improbable enough at firſt ſight, and without attentively conſidering the folly, credulity and ſuperſtition of the bulk of mankind) haſt raiſed another, of a different nature indeed, but of vaſt extent

extent and power, and governed at eaſe and without hazard: It is one of the moſt amazing inſtances of human policy that the world ever ſaw! No wonder then that as ancient Rome, ſo modern Italy, has carried painting to ſuch a height.

Whatever degeneracy may have crept in, from cauſes which it is not my preſent buſineſs to enquire into, no nation under heaven ſo nearly reſembles the ancient Greeks and Romans as ours. There is a haughty courage, an elevation of thought, a greatneſs of taſte, a love of liberty, a ſimplicity and honeſty among us, which we inherit from our anceſtors, and which belong to us as Engliſhmen; and it is in theſe this reſemblance conſiſts. I could exhibit a long catalogue of ſoldiers, ſtateſmen, orators, mathematicians, philoſophers, &c. and all living in or near our own times, which are proofs of what I advance, and conſequently do honour to our country, and to human nature. But as I confine myſelf to arts, and ſuch as have an affinity to painting, and moreover avoid to mention on this occaſion the names of any now alive (though many of thoſe I have in view will immediately occur to the thoughts of every man) I will only inſtance in Inigo Jones for architecture, and Shakeſpeare and Milton, the one for dramatic, the other for epic poetry, and leave them to ſeat themſelves at the table of fame amongſt the moſt illuſtrious of the ancients.

A time may come when future writers may be able to add the name of an Engliſh painter. But as it is in nature where from the ſeed is firſt produced the blade, then the green ear, and laſtly the ripe corn, ſo national virtues ſprout up, firſt in leſſer excellencies, and proceed by an eaſy gradation. Greece and Rome had not painting and ſculpture

ſculpture in their perfection till after they had exerted their natural vigour in humbler inſtances. I am no prophet, nor the ſon of a prophet; but conſidering the neceſſary connection of cauſes and events, and upon ſeeing ſome links of that fatal chain, I will venture to pronounce (as exceedingly probable) that if ever the ancient great and beautiful taſte in painting revives, it will be in England; but not till Engliſh painters, conſcious of the dignity of their country, and of their profeſſion, reſolve to do honour to both by piety, virtue, magnanimity, benevolence and induſtry, and a contempt of every thing that is really unworthy of them.

And now I cannot forbear wiſhing that ſome younger painter than myſelf, and one who has had greater and more early advantages would exert himſelf, and practiſe the magnanimity I have been recommending, in this ſingle inſtance of attempting and hoping only to equal the greateſt maſters of whatſoever age or nation. What were they which we are not, or may not be? What helps had any of them which we have not? Nay, we have ſeveral which ſome of them were deſtitute of: I will only mention one, and that is a very conſiderable one; it is our religion, which has opened a new and a noble ſcene of things; we have more juſt and enlarged notions of the deity, and more exalted ones of human nature than the ancients could poſſibly have: And as there are ſome fine characters peculiar to the chriſtian religion, it moreover affords ſome of the nobleſt ſubjects that ever were thought of for a picture.

OF THE SUBLIME.

——— Higher argument
Remains, ſufficient of itſelf to raiſe
That name, unleſs an age too late, or cold
Climate, or years damp my intended wing
Depreſs'd, and much it may if all be mine,
Not her's, who brings it nightly to my ear.
Deſcend from heav'n Urania. ——— MILTON.

THE Sublime is much talked of, but what is meant by this term * is not well agreed on; for which reaſon, before I make uſe of it, I will take the privilege that every man hath of explaining his own meaning: I will ſay what I underſtand by it, and why I do ſo; and that, without entering into a formal diſpute upon any point wherein I differ from others. It is a word that at preſent conveys but a confuſed, uncertain idea, or rather none at all; for, as I ſaid, its ſignification is not agreed on; I therefore fix one to it for my own uſe, and for that of others, if they like it; if not, they may do as I do, explain it in their own way, and uſe it accordingly. It is a wild word; and I am endeavouring to tame it, and make it ſerviceable; and as it is chiefly uſed with relation to writing, I will firſt conſider it in that view.

By the ſublime in general I mean the moſt excellent of what is excellent, as the excellent is the beſt of what is good. The dignity of a man conſiſts chiefly in his capacity of thinking, and of communicating his ideas to another; the greateſt and moſt noble thoughts, images or ſentiments, conveyed to us in the beſt choſen words, I take

* See Boileau's works, tom. II.

therefore

therefore to be the perfect ſublime in writing; the admirable, the marvellous.

But as there may be degrees even in the ſublime, ſomething ſhort of the utmoſt may be alſo ſublime.

Thought and language are two diſtinct excellencies: There are few who are capable of adding dignity to a great ſubject, or even of doing right to ſuch a one; in ſome caſes none: The bulk of mankind conceive not greatly, nor do they know how to utter the conceptions they have to the beſt advantage; and thoſe who have higher capacities exert them but rarely, and on few occaſions: Hence it is that we ſo juſtly admire what is ſo excellent, and ſo uncommon.

The great manner of thinking (as thought in general) is either pure invention, or what ariſes upon hints ſuggeſted from without.

That "in the beginning God created the heavens "and the earth," had been a noble thought had it been invention; and more or leſs ſo as the inventor had underſtood it himſelf: And if he had gone about to convey that idea to others, it might have occaſioned more to explain and illuſtrate it.

As this original thought was conveyed to Moſes by inſpiration, and to us very conciſely by him (ſuppoſing he had ſaid no more of it than theſe words) though it could but have appeared great to any one that conceived tolerably, it would have done ſo more or leſs according to the different capacities of men, and their ſeveral manners of thinking; and which would have given ſcope to invention, though the firſt hint was from another. For creation may be conceived as the producing of this globe and its inhabitants, and of the ſun, moon and ſtars, and that out of nothing; or as the

the formation of these things from a chaos; or as the original of universal matter; or, lastly, as † together with that, modified as we see it, of all spiritual beings; that is, of all sorts of existences whatsoever, God himself excepted, who must be conceived to be perfect and happy, though alone existing eternal ages before this great revolution.

To be sublime the thought must be great: What is mean and trifling is incapable of it: There must be something that fills the mind, and this with dignity.

And it is not always necessary that such thoughts be strictly just and philosophical in all cases: That of the creation I have been speaking of, as it is great in what sense soever it is understood, though the different senses are not equally so, yet any of them may be sublime; so all we can say of God is infinitely short of what he is; and notwithstanding the utmost that can be said, even that comparatively low idea of God, as it is the best that can be attained to of that most sublime being, or rather the only sublime one, when compared with all others, must be esteemed sublime.

But though greatness is essential, and truth is not, a great and useful truth is preferable to what is but equally great, and either not true, or not of

† God spake, and angels and archangels were,
And spirits immortal first began to be;
All but himself, he ever liv'd, and must,
In full perfection, happy tho' alone.
God spake; the void immense was full, and worlds,
And peopled worlds innumerable shone;
Nature, yet unexisting heard him call,
Life, being, substance, form, receiv'd with joy,
This instant was not, and this instant was,
From nothing all; and GOD WAS ALL IN ALL.
Opening of his HYMN to GOD. MS.

use:

uſe: A great idea of the power of God may be ſublime as well as another of his goodneſs; but the latter will have a beauty in it to us which is wanting in the former. "Thus ſaith the high and "lofty one that inhabiteth eternity, whoſe name "is holy, I dwell in the high and holy place, with "him alſo that is of a contrite and humble ſpirit, "to revive the ſpirit of the humble, and to revive "the heart of the contrite ones," would therefore be preferable upon that account to "let there be "light, and there was light," if they were otherwiſe equal.

We know ſo little of what is poſſible to be, even on our own globe, that there is a great latitude as to images, even when what is ſaid is to be literally taken; as for hyperboles and other figures, every one knows they give ſcope enough; however, in either caſe, what is abſurd or ridiculous muſt be avoided. But the ſentiments muſt be juſt and rational to be ſublime; thus far truth is neceſſary, or at leaſt natural probability; the ſentiments muſt be ſuch as it is ſuppoſed a man might have; and, if he had, he would not be extravagant and romantic; whether ever any man had really ſuch, or at leaſt practiſed accordingly, is not ſo material. What I have heard St. Auguſtin ſay ſomewhere, "If I was Lord God, and he biſhop "of Hippo, I would become biſhop of Hippo "that he might be Lord God," is a profane rant, not a ſublime ſentiment. As that of Lopez de Vega in his divine meditation, "O my God, I am "ſo afflicted for having offended Zaca, that I ſhould "flay myſelf or Zaca, hadſt thou not commanded "me to love my enemies." It is plain that this is a wit that is making a ſally of his imagination rather than a picture of his heart. The father of

the

the Horatii, in the tragedy of Corneille, has carried magnanimity to the utmoſt height; when he was told two of his ſons were killed, and the other fled, he regrets not the loſs of the two, but all his concern is for the ſhameful flight of the other; "One againſt three! What would you have had "him done? Died." Perhaps Hudibras ſaid a wiſer thing, though as it is ludicrouſly ſpoken it could not have been ſublime had the ſentiment been great as well as juſt:

He that runs may fight again,
Which he can never do that's ſlain.

But this of the old man is truly ſublime, though upon the very borders of extravagance, for the ſentiment is noble; and though it were really unreaſonable, the manners of the ancient Romans would juſtify it: Notwithſtanding all which, Boileau has furniſhed me with another more beautiful, becauſe as great and more rational: He cites it from the Athaliah of Racine as an inſtance of the perfect ſublime in all reſpects. Abner repreſents to the high prieſt, that Athaliah was enraged againſt himſelf and all the Levitical order; his anſwer is,

* Celui qui met un frein à la fureur des flots
Sait auſſi des mechans arrêter les complots;
Soûmis avec reſpect à ſa volunté ſainte,
Je crains Dieu, cher Abner, & n'ai point d'autre crainte.

Suppoſing an equal degreee of greatneſs, where there is moſt ſolidity there is moſt beauty, it is the moſt ſublime.

* He who the ocean's violence reſtrains,
Within due bounds men's wickedneſs contains;
What God inflicts with reverence I bear,
And fearing him can have no other fear.

As

As the thoughts, ſo the language of the ſublime muſt be the moſt excellent; what that is, is the queſtion. Whether it be confined to the florid, to magnificent and ſonorous words, tours, figures, &c. or whether brevity, ſimplicity, or even common and low words are the beſt on ſome occaſions?

Poetry, hiſtory, declamation, &c. have their peculiar ſtiles; but the ſublime (as our high court of parliament is not under the reſtrictions which inferior courts are) is not limited to any particular ſtile: The beſt, is the ſublime language, and that is beſt which ſets the idea in the ſtrongeſt light; that is the great end and uſe of words; but if thoſe which pleaſe the ear do equally ſerve that purpoſe, no doubt they are preferable, but not otherwiſe. Plain and common words paint a great image ſometimes ſtronger than any other.

——— We are ſuch ſtuff
As dreams are made on, and our little life
Is rounded with a ſleep.

* SHAKESPEARE'S TEMPEST.

——— To me comes a creature,
Sometimes her head on one ſide, ſome another,
I never ſaw a veſſel of like ſorrow
So fill'd, and ſo becoming: In pure white robes,
Like very ſanctity ſhe did approach
My cabin where I lay; thrice bow'd before me,
And (gaſping to begin ſome ſpeech) her eyes
Became two ſpouts ———
——— And ſo with ſhrieks
She melted into air ———

The WINTER'S TALE.

* Τὶ δὲ τὶς? τὶ δ' οὐ τὶς? σκιᾶς ὄναρ ἄνθρωπος.

What is ſome-body? What is no-body? Man is the dream of a ſhadow. PINDAR.

And more than Echo talk'd along the walls.
POPE'S ABELARD.

Oh now does death line his dead chaps with ſteel,
The ſwords of ſoldiers are his teeth, his phangs,
And now he feaſts, mouthing the fleſh of men
In undetermin'd diff'rences of kings.
KING JOHN.

Low language may ſometimes debaſe the idea, and draw down the mind from its due pitch, but that being avoided, the ſublime may come to us by that mean voiture, the image may have more force than when deſcribed in greater words: The ſpouts which the eyes of the ghoſt in Shakeſpeare are ſaid to be, are overlooked by the mind's being filled with the idea of the guſh of tears pouring down; the great image bears ſo ſtrongly upon us, as to drive out the other; but if theſe eyes had been compared to rivers, cataracts, or ſeas, it would not have touched like theſe ſpouts.

Simplicity, and brevity, even one word has ſometimes more force and beauty than the moſt magnificent and ſonorous language, and the moſt harmonious periods.

The laconic anſwer of the father of the Horatii I mentioned juſt now, doubles the force of the great ſentiment; that ſingle word is a ſtrong and maſterly touch of the pencil which paints the mind reſolute and determined better than the fineſt ſpeech the poet could have invented.

"Let there be light, and there was light," conſidered only as an hiſtorical account of that part of the creation, admirably deſcribes the inſtantaneous change from darkneſs to light; expatiating, however elegantly, would have ſpoiled the image. Milton is more diffuſed, but then he paints not the

the ſame thing, it is a very different image; the light, according to him, came on ſlowly:

Let there be light, ſaid God, and forthwith light
Etherial, firſt of things, quinteſſence pure
Sprung from the deep, and from her native eaſt
To journey thro' the airy gloom began,
Spher'd in a radiant cloud, for yet the ſun
Was not; ſhe in a cloudy tabernacle
Sojourn'd the while ———

MILTON's Par. Loſt, B. VII. l. 243.

Here the ſlow deſcription paints the motion of the light as of a vapour exhaled from the earth, and riſing, and increaſing by little and little, it is as the dawning of the day behind the hills; that of Moſes is lightning, or a magazine that has taken fire on a ſudden, it flaſhes as you read.

Milton's idea is very poetical, though he hath loſt the divine ſimplicity of this conciſe and ſimple image; which he hath done, in order to account for the diſtance between the creation of light on the firſt day, and that of the ſun on the fourth.

And I believe every man who reads with taſte the proſe text only, though a tranſlation of Job and the Pſalms (eſpecially that of theſe laſt in the Common-Prayer) will find the plain and natural ſimplicity of this, will affect him more than any of the poetical paraphraſes.

But this is the leaſt part of the important image in the inſpired writer, and the leaſt inſtance of the conciſeneſs of his ſtile in this place; for what is implied is a vaſt idea of the power of God, whoſe word in an inſtant produced ſo noble and ſo uſeful a creature as light; the words I have uſed, or much better, the beſt that could have been choſen, could not have ſtruck the imagination ſo ſtrongly as this hint has done.

This way of expreſſing a thing not directly, but by a tour, is very poetical and ſublime. I will give another inſtance of it. "How beautiful upon "the mountains are the feet of him that bringeth "glad tidings!" The image here given is of no conſequence; what is intended is a dry precept; "Take care to be a meſſenger of good news only, "if you would be acceptable;" but this way of giving it gratifies the mind with a great and pleaſing image, and not at all the leſs enriches it with a moſt uſeful inſtruction.

That the florid, poetic, or heroic ſtile has alſo its beauties, is ſo far from being doubted, that ſome have confined ſublimity to this only; and when it is ſuſtained by a great thought, and beſt conveys that, and ſo ſerves both purpoſes, uſe, and delight, it is then preferable, never elſe: Apply it to nonſenſe, it is nauſeous; to a low trivial thought, it is ſo far from raiſing it, that it makes it ridiculous; or he that reads is ſo, if he is cheated by it, and fancies the thing hath more ſenſe in it than it really has; or than it would have appeared to have had, if it had not been tricked up with thoſe improper ornaments. Nay, when it is uſed to convey a great idea, and more is done than is neceſſary to that end, it is a defect, not a beauty: For even in this ſtile too great a latitude muſt not be given to the fancy; and though the amplifications ſpread themſelves all around, each of them in particular ſhould be formed as conciſely as the nature of them will admit of.

In Milton's deſcription of the devil, and his hoſt of fallen angels, there is a profuſion of ornament, particularly in ſimiles, but in each of them there is a great œconomy ſhewn in the language, not a word but is to the purpoſe:

——— He

——— He above the reſt
In ſhape, and geſture proudly eminent
Stood like a tower; his form had yet not loſt
All her original brightneſs, nor appear'd
Leſs than archangel ruin'd, and th' exceſs
Of glory obſcur'd: As when the ſun new ris'n
Looks thro' the horizontal miſty air
Shorn of his beams; or from behind the moon
In dim eclipſe diſaſtrous twilight ſheds
On half the nations, and with fear of change
Perplexes monarchs. Dark'n'd ſo, yet ſhone
Above them all th' archangel: But his face
Deep ſcars of thunder had intrench'd, and care
Sate on his faded cheek, but under brows
Of dauntleſs courage, and conſiderate pride
Waiting revenge; cruel his eye, but caſt
Signs of remorſe, and paſſion to behold
The fellows of his crime, the followers rather
(Far other once beheld in bliſs) condemn'd
For ever now to have their lot in pain,
Millions of ſpirits for his fault amerſt
Of heaven, and from eternal ſplendors flung
For his revolt, yet faithful how they ſtood
Their glory wither'd. As when heaven's fire
Hath ſcath'd the foreſt oaks, or mountain pines,
With ſinged top their ſtately growth, tho' bare,
Stands on the blaſted heath.———

MILTON's Par. Loſt, B. I. l. 589.

More than this had been too much. There is no ſuch danger in what follows; it is the deſcription of the ſecond perſon in the trinity, coming with his celeſtial attendants

——— to create new worlds.
On heav'nly ground they ſtood, and from the ſhore
They view'd the vaſt, immeaſurable abyſs
Outrageous as a ſea, dark, waſtful, wild,
Up from the bottom turn'd by furious winds,
And ſurging waves as mountains to aſſault
Heav'n's heighth, and with the center mix the pole:

Silence ye troubled waves, and thou deep, peace,
Said then th' omnific word, your diſcord end.
Nor ſtaid, but on the wings of cherubim
Uplifted, in paternal glory rode
Far into chaos, and the world unborn;
For chaos heard his voice.
MILTON's Par. Loſt, B. VII. l. 209.

I have not given theſe ſpecimens of all the ſeveral ſtiles as proofs, that each or any of them are the language of the ſublime, for that would be begging the queſtion, it not being proved that thoſe paſſages are ſuch; on the contrary, if any ſtile is a bar to ſublimity where this is found, the paſſage cannot be ſublime; but I have produced theſe to ſhew, that any of the ſeveral ſtiles may be beſt on ſome occaſions; and if that appear, ſure it will not be ſaid that a worſe is the only ſublime, and that, merely for the ſake of the words, conſidered as diſtinct from the ſenſe and true uſe of them; for thus the perfect ſublime muſt be the nobleſt thoughts, but not the beſt way of expreſſing thoſe thoughts. If the beſt be the ſublime, the ſublimity of thoſe ſeveral ſtiles is then eſtabliſhed. And this will prove, that thoſe paſſages are alſo ſublime, if there was no other objection to their ſublimity but the ſtile, though it was not what I chiefly intended.

The only reaſons that can be given for a peculiarity of ſtile in the ſublime are, that as the thought muſt be great, the language muſt be ſo too, as beſt expreſſing ſuch thought; and becauſe the muſic of the words ſerves to the ſame purpoſe, and moreover pleaſeth, I own all this is generally true: Why do we uſe the term ſublime, and not the very beſt, both which expreſs the ſame thing, only that one raiſes, and the other depreſſes the idea? But I deny

deny that it is always thus; and only contend, that a plain ſtile may, ſometimes, be the moſt excellent, though low and trivial thoughts never can be diſtinguiſhed; and when ſuch a ſtile beſt ſerves the main end of language when the image is beſt conveyed, though not delicately as with a ſeal, but roughly as with the thump of a mallet, it is then, and only then (according to me) the ſublime ſtile, becauſe it is the beſt on that occaſion; and what none but a great genius dare venture on, or ſhall venture on with ſucceſs. And when this happens, the pleaſure that is wanting in the ſound is abundantly recompenſed by obſerving the judgment of him who made ſo wiſe a choice.

There is a beauty in brevity and ſimplicity which ſufficiently compenſates for what it wants; the mind is fixed, as it were, to a point, and to the ſenſe; whereas it is apt to be diſſipated by the allurements of a florid ſtile; and called off to the leſſer beauties that enter no deeper than the ear.

Longinus has furniſhed us with a proof of the advantage that ſimplicity has above ornament in his account of the famous text of Moſes: Whether he never ſaw a true copy, or that he has endeavoured to improve upon it, he puts it thus: "And God ſaid, What? Let there be light, and "there was light." This particle, what, ſeems to have been a flower ſtuck in by ſome rhetorician, and that to awaken the attention; and ſo it might have been applied very juſtly, when one of an inferior character had ſpoke; but when it is ſaid God ſpake, it is enough; and, to ſuppoſe any thing elſe neceſſary, is to depreſs the idea of the ſpeaker.

Having thus explained, and as well as I could juſtified my definition, it appears that my notion

of the ſublime differs from that of * ſome others: I confine it to ſenſe, and give a latitude as to the ſtile; they are for a certain ſtile, and allow that a ſeparate ſublimity, whatever the thought be: We alſo differ in the way of ſupporting our ſeveral notions; I have built only on reaſon, or what appeared to me to be ſuch.

I confeſs, after all, it cannot be ſaid with certainty, what is, and what is not ſublime, becauſe it cannot be ſaid in all caſes what thought is of that ſupreme excellence, and that ſuch, or ſuch a way of expreſſing it is beſt; this muſt be judged of by every one for himſelf, as on many other more important occaſions: But what I have done may perhaps help to clear theſe points, at leaſt it hath ſhewn what I mean by the term, and ſo prepared my way to what I chiefly intended, which was, to ſpeak of the ſublime in painting. The term indeed is not ſo generally applied to that art, but would have been, had it been ſo generally underſtood, and ſo much treated on as writing: For certainly the ſupreme excellence in painting is as worthy of that diſtinction; and more ſo, as employing more of the nobleſt faculties peculiar to the nobleſt creature we are acquainted with.

And here I take the ſublime to be the greateſt and moſt beautiful ideas conveyed to us the moſt advantageouſly.

By beauty I do not mean that of form or colour, copied from what the painter ſees; theſe be-

* See Longinus, chap. 32, &c. Boileau's Definition of the Sublime in his twelfth critical reflection on Longinus. Diſſertation of Mr. Huet and Le Clerc againſt Boileau, &c. Tho', to ſay the truth, the two firſt of theſe, in the places here cited, ſpeak contrary to what is the general tenor of their ſeveral diſcourſes.

ing

ing never ſo well imitated, I take not to be ſublime, becauſe theſe require little more than an eye and hand, and practice. An exalted idea of colour in a human face or figure, might be judged to be ſublime, could that be had and conveyed to us, as I think it cannot, ſince even nature has not yet been equalled by the beſt colouriſts; here ſhe keeps art at a diſtance whatever courtſhip it hath made to her. In forms it is otherwiſe, as we find in the beſt antique ſtatues, which therefore I allow to have a ſublimity in them: And ſhould do the ſame in regard to the ſame kind and degree of beauty, if it were to be found in any picture, as I believe it is not. Though in pictures is ſeen a grace and greatneſs, whether from the attitude, or air of the whole, or the head only, that may juſtly be eſteemed ſublime.

It is to theſe properties therefore, as alſo to the invention, expreſſion and compoſition, that I confine the ſublime in painting; and this as they are found in hiſtories and portraits.

If the ſtory, ſublime in itſelf, loſes nothing of its own dignity under the painter's hand, or if it is raiſed and improved, which it cannot be, if the airs of the heads, and attitudes of the figures are not conformable to the greatneſs of the ſubject: If expedients and incidents are introduced, that diſcover an elevation of thought in the maſter, and all is artfully conveyed to us, whether in a ſketch or drawing, or in a finiſhed picture; this I eſteem ſublimity in painting. Nor leſs ſo, if a noble character is given or improved; a character of wiſdom, goodneſs, magnanimity, or whatever other virtues or excellencies; and that together with a juſt and proper reſemblance. But a low ſubject, and

and a mean character, are incapable of ſublimity; as is the beſt compoſition when employed on ſuch.

When one ſpeaks of the ſublime in writing, the inſtance proper to illuſtrate and explain what is ſaid concerning it may be ſet before your eyes, and that without any diminution of its original luſtre. Painting has not this advantage; much of the beauty will be loſt in the deſcription how artful ſoever; as who can deſcribe the air of the head, whether as to its general character of grace or dignity, or thoſe particular ones of wiſdom, goodneſs, lovelineſs, or what are the effects of any paſſion, or emotion of ſoul! Who can by words ſhew what Raphael, Guido, or Vandyke have done with their pencils! I ſhould for this reaſon have been ſparing of examples, if I had not already given many for other purpoſes, but which are alſo inſtances of the ſublime in painting, and which are ſcattered up and down throughout all I have written on this amiable ſubject: But one or two I will add in this place. The firſt ſhall be from Rembrandt; and ſurely he has given us ſuch an idea of a death-bed on one quarter of a ſheet of paper, in two figures, with few accompaniments, and in clair-obſcure only, that the moſt eloquent preacher cannot paint it ſo ſtrongly by the moſt elaborate diſcourſe; I do not pretend to deſcribe it, it muſt be ſeen: I will however tell what the figures and the reſt are. An old man is lying on his bed juſt ready to expire; this bed has a plain curtain, and a lamp hanging over it, for it is in a little ſort of an alcove, dark otherwiſe, though it is bright day in the next room, and which is neareſt the eye, there the ſon of this dying old man is at prayers. O God! What is this world! We ſpend our years as a tale that is told. All is over with

with this man, and there is such an expression in this dull lamp-light at noon-day, such a touching solemnity and repose, that these equal any thing in the airs and attitudes of the figures, which have the utmost excellency that I think I ever saw, or can conceive is possible to be imagined.

It is a drawing, I have it. And here is an instance of an important subject, impressed upon our minds by such expedients and incidents, as display an elevation of thought and fine invention; and all this with the utmost art, and with the greatest simplicity; that being more apt, at least in this case, than any embellishment whatsoever.

The other instance I promised shall be from Federico Zuccaro: He hath represented the annunciation so as to give such an idea as we ought to have of that amazing event: Over the Virgin and the Angel, aloft, in a heaven of glory, appears God the father and the dove, all surrounded by an innumerable multitude of angels, adoring, rejoicing, &c. On each side sit the prophets with cartells, on which are written their predictions of the miraculous incarnation of the Son of God.

I am perhaps prejudiced in favour of painting; but however, not so much but that I am ready to acknowledge, that we have few instances, if any, of the perfect sublime; that is, where the thought is so, and the manner of conveyance equal to it; some defects will always be found in the best pictures, whereas there are sublime passages in writers where the words are not only the most apt and proper, but the most beautiful: This, nevertheless is to the honour of our art. No man yet hath arrived at excellency in all the parts of it: This were the task of an angel, or some angelick man, such as hath not yet appeared, Raphael and

and others have reached the ſublime, and roſe as high as Homer or Demoſthenes; but you can rarely ſee an entire picture, or even a ſingle figure, wherein an accurate though candid critic might not wiſh ſomething otherwiſe; whereas in writers you often have their beautiful parts detached and perfect.

But the ſublime, as the crown in the ſtate hides all defects, it fills and ſatisfies the mind; nothing appears to be wanting, nothing to be amiſs, or if it does, it is eaſily forgiven. All faults die and vaniſh in preſence of the ſublime, which when it appears is as "the ſun traverſing the vaſt deſert of "of the ſky." PINDAR.

Longinus rightly accounts for the defects that are ſeen in men who have attained to ſublimity; their minds, ſays he, intent upon what is great, cannot attend to little things; and indeed the life and capacity of a man are inſufficient for both, and even for all that is great in painting. But who, ſays Longinus, would not rather be Demoſthenes than Hyperides, though one of theſe had no faults, and the other many? This other had the ſublime! He was admirable, not merely irreproachable. When we ſee the ſublime, it elevates the ſoul, gives her a higher opinion of herſelf, and fills her with joy, and a noble kind of pride, as if herſelf had produced what ſhe is admiring. It raviſhes, it tranſports, and creates in us a certain admiration, mixed with aſtoniſhment. And, like a tempeſt, drives all before it.

——— And muſt confeſs to find
In all things elſe delight indeed, but ſuch
As us'd, or not, works in the mind no change,
Nor vehement deſire: ———
——— But here

Far

Far otherwiſe tranſported I behold.
——— Here paſſion firſt I felt,
Commotion ſtrange, in all enjoyments elſe
Superior and unmov'd.
MILTON's Par. Loſt, B. VIII. l. 523.

In the foregoing treatiſe I have been ſhewing what I take to be the rules of painting; and tho' any one had underſtood and practiſed them all, I muſt yet ſay one thing is wanting, "Go, and endeavour to attain the ſublime." For a painter ſhould not pleaſe only, but ſhould delight, ſhould tranſport, ſhould ſurprize.

Plus ultra * was the motto of Charles V. whoſe actions were of the ſublime kind; and, as Monſieur St. Evremont finely diſtinguiſhes, rather vaſt than great: And this ſhould be the motto of all who apply themſelves to any noble art, particularly that of a painter; he muſt not propoſe like Pyrrhus to conquer ſuch a country, then ſuch a one, then another, and then reſt; he muſt reſolve, like time, to be always going on,

——— Like the Pontick ſea
Whoſe icy current, and compulſive courſe
Ne'er knows retiring ebb, but keeps due on
To the Propontick, and the Helleſpont.
SHAKESPEARE.

In ſhort, he muſt be perpetually advancing. And whatever rules are given as fundamental of the art, plus ultra, like a golden thread, ſhould be woven in, and run throughout the whole piece.

To be contented with mediocrity in art, is an argument of a meanneſs of ſpirit incapable even of that; and though it be attained, it is a ſtate of

* "Ne plus ultra," ſaid Hercules.

inſipidity,

insipidity, a kind of non-entity: To be remarkable for nothing, is not to be at all; and less eligible than to be remarkably a blockhead.

——————— For who would lose
Though full of pain this intellectual being,
Those thoughts that wander through eternity,
To perish rather, swallow'd up, and lost
In the wide womb of uncreated night.
MILTON's Par. Lost, B. II. l. 146.

He that upon trial finds himself incapable of the science he had applied himself to, may turn to something else, until he lights upon that in which he may excel, as there is none but may do so in one thing or another; but he who does just tolerably well, stops there, and never gets higher in any thing, is a species of animals that makes the transition from men to brutes easy.

When we propose only an exact imitation of nature, we shall certainly fall short of it; so when we aim no higher than what we find in any one, or more masters, we shall never reach their excellence: He who would rise to the sublime must form an idea of something beyond all we have yet seen, or which art or nature has yet produced; painting, such as when all the excellences of the several masters are united, and their several defects avoided.

The greatest designers among the moderns want much of that exquisite beauty, in all the several characters, that is to be seen in the antique; the airs of the heads, even of Raphael himself, are inferior to what the ancients have done (their subjects being equal); and for grace, to some of Guido: The colouring of Rubens and Vandyke falls short of that of Titian and Corregio; and the best masters have rarely thought like Raphael, or composed like

like Rembrandt. Let us then imagine a picture designed as the Laocoon, the Hercules, the Apollo, the Venus, or any of these miraculous remains of antiquity: The airs of heads, like what is to be found in the statues, busts, bas-reliefs, or medals, or like some of those of Guido; and coloured like the most celebrated colourists, with the lightest pencil, and the most proper to the subject; and all this suitably invented and composed; here would be a picture! Such a one a painter should imagine, and so set before him for imitation.

Nor must he stop here, but create an original idea of perfection. The utmost that the best masters have done, is not to be supposed the utmost it is possible for human nature to arrive at; Leonardo da Vinci, or Michael Angelo, might have been thought to have carried the art as far as it could go, had not Raphael appeared; as Cimabue and Giotto were thought to have done in their days:

Credette Cimabue nella pittura
Tener lo campo, & or ha Giotto il grido
Si che la fama di colui oscura.

DANTE, Purgatorio XI.

Who knows what is hid in the womb of time! Another may eclipse Raphael; a new Columbus may cross the Atlantic Ocean, and leave the pillars of that Hercules far behind. The out-lines and airs of the best antique, with the best colouring of the moderns united, would do this; but more yet than this is not impossible; and this more should be attempted:

As God no model for the worlds could find,
But form'd them in his own eternal mind;
So should the artist, warm'd with heav'nly fire,
To a perfection yet unknown aspire.

This

This is the great rule for the ſublime; not to be given however until thoſe fundamental ones of the art have been well known and practiſed: This is to be opened when a man hath got far on his way, as the commiſſions of admirals or generals going on ſome great expedition frequently are. The ſublime diſdains to be trammelled, it knows no bounds, it is the ſally of great geniuſes, and the perfection of human nature; but like Milton's paradiſe

> Wild, above rule, or art, enormous bliſs!
> MILTON's Par. Loſt, B. V. l. 297.
>
> Return me to my native element
> Leſt from this flying ſteed, unrein'd (as once
> Bellerophon tho' from a lower clime)
> Diſmounted, on the Aleian field I fall,
> Erroneous there to wander, and forlorn.
> Ibid. B. VII. l. 16.

I have now done as much as may reaſonably be judged to come to my ſhare, to ſhew my hearty love to my profeſſion, having thus ſacrificed a great many of thoſe hours which would otherwiſe have been given (as they ought) to reſt and diverſion; much more might be added, for the ſubject is a noble and a copious one; but I muſt take leave to recommend what is farther to be done to ſome other hand, without the common flouriſh of excuſing myſelf upon account of inability; though I am alſo very ſenſible of that. But the true reaſon of my declining it is that juſt now given.

As for the preſent work, no body can be more ready to ſay, than I am to acknowledge, that it is not ſo well as it ſhould be: But as in drawings, thoſe are good which anſwer their end; if no more than the compoſition (for example) is pretended to, it were impertinent to ſay they are incorrect; here the

the reader ſhould diſtinguiſh between the writer and the painter: My buſineſs is painting: If I have ſucceeded tolerably well in that character, the public has no reaſon to complain. Such as it is, and ſuch as my abilities, and the proportion of time and application I have thought it reaſonable for me to beſtow, has enabled me to make it, I now offer it to the world; though I was not reſolved ſo to do when I began to write. I remember to have heard a ſtory which (like others told on ſuch occaſions) is not to be too ſtrictly applied; however the reader may do as he thinks fit. A man of quality, Sir Peter Lely's intimate friend, was pleaſed to ſay to him one day, "For God's ſake, Sir Peter, how "came you to have ſo great a reputation? You "know that I know you are no painter."—— "My lord, I know I am not; but I am the beſt "you have."

INTRODUCTION

TO THE

CHRONOLOGICAL LIST, &c.

THE following hiſtorical and chronological liſt (as to the main of it) I took the pains to make ſome years ago for my own uſe. I have been pretty careful in it, ſo that I believe there are not many miſtakes. Where I could find no account of the time of a maſter's birth, his place in the liſt will ſhew whereabouts it probably was. The double dates are the different accounts of authors, the moſt conſiderable is that of Corregio; I have been determined to put him ſo low upon the authority of a manuſcript of father Reſta, a late connoiſſeur at Rome, and who beſides his infinite diligence in theſe matters, and a particular regard, and even fondneſs, for Corregio, hath had very great opportunities of being rightly informed, conſidering the diſtance of time. The account of the degrees in which ſome of the moſt eminent of theſe maſters excelled, is ſcattered up and down in the preceding diſcourſe; but of this you may ſee farther at the end of a ſmall book of Mr. de Piles, printed anno 1708. Cours de Peinture par Principes. He has made a ſcale, the higheſt number of which is 18, and denotes the higheſt degree

to

to which any one hath arrived that we know of; then he ſuppoſes the art to conſiſt of Compoſition, Deſign, Colouring, and Expreſſion, of each of which he makes a ſeparate column, and in theſe puts his number according as he judges the maſter whoſe name he applies them to has merited. The thing is curious and uſeful; but ſome conſiderable parts of painting being omitted, it gives not a juſt idea of the maſters. For example; according to this ſcale Rembrandt ſeems to be equal to Giulio Romano, and ſuperior to Michael Angelo and Parmegiano. Whereas had he brought Invention, Greatneſs, Grace, &c. into the account, it would have ſet the matter right, ſuppoſing he had allotted the juſt degrees, which neither he, nor any one elſe can do ſo as to pleaſe univerſally.

Historical and Chronological Series of the Principal Professors of Painting.

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Giovanni Cimabue, the Father of Modern painting.	Certain Greek painters, brought to Florence.	1240	Hiſtory.	Florence.	1300
Giotto.	Cimabue.	1276	Hiſt. ſculp. archit.	Florence.	1336
John van Eyck, or John of Bruges, inventor of painting in oil. Ann. 1410.	His brother Hubert.	1370	Hiſtory.		1441
Maſaccio.	Maſolino.	1417	Hiſtory.	Florence.	1443
Giovanni Bellini.	His father Jacopo.	$14\frac{22}{20}$	Hiſt. port. archit.	Venice.	$15\frac{16}{12}$
Gentile Bellini.	His father.	1421	Hiſt. port. archit.	Venice, went to Conſtantinople.	1501
Luca Signorella da Cortona.	Pietro del Borgo.	1439	Hiſtory.	Several parts of Italy	1512
Leonardo da Vinci.	Andrea Verocchio.	1445	Hiſt. port. ſcul. architect.	Florence.	1520

Pietro

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in.	Lived at	Died
Pietro Perugino.	Andrea Verocchio.	1446	Hiſtory.	Florence, Siena.	1524
Andrea Mantegna. Graving invented in his time, and by him firſt practiſed.	Jacopo Squarcione.	1451	Hiſtory, portraits.	Mantua, Rome.	1517
Fra. Bartolomeo di S. Marco.	Raphael for perſpective.	1469	Hiſtory.	Florence.	1517
Timoteo Vete da Urbino.	Imitated Raphael.	1470	Hiſtory.	Urbin, Rome.	1524
Albert Durer.		1470	Hiſt. port. graving.	Nuremberg.	1528
Michael Angelo Buonaroti.	Domenico Grilandaio.	$14\frac{74}{75}$	Hiſt. ſculp. archit.	Florence, Rome.	$15\frac{63}{64}$
Giorgione da Caſtelfranco.	Gio. Bellino, imitated Leonardo da Vinci.	1477	Hiſtory, portraits.	Venice.	1511
Titiano Vicelli da Cadore.	Gio. Bellini, imitated Giorgione.	$14\frac{77}{80}$	Hiſt. port. landſc.	Venice.	1576
Andrea del Sarto.	Pietro di Coſimo.	1478	Hiſtory.	Florence.	1530
Pellegrino da Modena.	Raphael.		Hiſtory.	Rome, Modena.	
Baldaſſar Peruzzi da Siena.		1481	Hiſtory, architect.	Rome.	1536

Raphael

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Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Raphael Sancio da Urbino.	Giovanni his father, Pietro Perugino; for colouring Fra. Bartolomeo; imitated Leonardo da Vinci, and after (as is probably aſſerted by ſome) improved by ſeeing the works of Michael Angelo.	1483	Hiſt. port. archit.	Florence, Rome.	1520
Mecherino da Siena, called alſo Domenico Beccafumi.	Firſt imitated P. Perugino, then ſtudied Michael Angelo and Raphael.	1484	Hiſtory, ſculpture.	Rome, Siena.	1549
Sebaſtiano del Piombo.	Gio. Bellini, Giorgione.	1485	Hiſtory, portraiture.	Venice, Rome.	1547
Baccio Bandinelli.	Gio. Fran. Ruſtici.	1487	Hiſtory, ſculpture.	Florence.	1559
Gio. Antonio Regillo, called Licinio da Pordenone.	Studied Giorgione.	1484	Hiſtory.	Venice, Friuli.	1540
Biaggio Puppini Bologneſe			Hiſt.		

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Francesco Primaticcio Bolognese Abbate di S. Martino.	Giulio Romano.	1490	History, architect.	Bolog. Mant. Fran.	1550
Giulio Romano.	Raphael.	1492	History, architect.	Rome, Mantua.	1546
Matturino.	Raphael.		History.	Rome.	1527
Antonio Allegri da Corregio died 1534, at 40. See Orlando.	Frari da Modena, Mantegna.	$14\frac{24}{3}$	History.	Lombardy.	$15\frac{34}{3}$
Lucas van Leyden.		1494	History, graving.	Low-Countries.	1533
Jacopo da Pontormo.	Leo. da Vinci, Mariotto Albertinelli, P. Cosimo, Andr. del Sarto.	1494	History, portrait.	Florence.	1559
Polidoro da Caravagio.	Raphael.	$149\frac{2}{3}$	History.	Rome, Nap. Messin.	1543
Rosso Fiorentino.	Studied Michael Angelo.	1496	History.	Flor. Rome, France.	1541
Martin Hemskerck.	Jean Lucas, and Schoorel.	1498	History.	Holland.	1574
Battista Franco Venetiano detto il Semoleo.	Studied Michael Angelo.		History.	Rome, Floren. Urbin, Venice.	1561
Hans Holbein.	His father.	1498	History, port.	Switzerland, Lond.	1554
Perino del Vaga.	Studied after Michael Angelo, then under Raphael.	1500	History.	Florence, Rome.	1547
Girolamo da Carpi.	Benvenuto Gorofalo,	1501	History, archit.	Bolog. Moden.	1556
Benvenuto Cellini.	studied Corregio.	1500	Sculptor.	Ferar, Rome, &c	1576

Ugo

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Ugo da Carpi, he first invented Printing with two plates of wood, then with three, in imitation of drawings.					
Franc. Mazzuoli Parmegiano.	His two uncles.	1504	History, portrait.	Rome, Parma.	1540
Giacomo Palma il Vecchio.	Studied at Rome, and after instructed by Titian.	1508	History, portrait.	Rome, Venice.	1556
Daniele Ricciarelli da Volterra.	Il Sodomita, Bald. Peruzzi.	1509	History, sculpture.	Rome, Florence.	1566
Francesco Saluiati, Francesco de Rossi.	His father, Baccio Bandinelli, Andr. del Sarto.	1510	History, portrait.	Floren. Rome, Venice.	1563
Jacopo Ponte da Bassano il Vecchio.	Studied after Gio. Bellino.	15 $\frac{0}{0}$	Hist. animals, landscapes.	Bassano, Venice.	1592
Don Giulio Clouio.	Giulio Romano.	1 $\frac{511}{498}$	Hist. in miniature.	Rome.	1578
Pirro Ligorio.	Giulio Romano.		History, architect.	Napl. Rome. about	1573
Giorgio Vasario.	Guglielmo da Marsiglia, Andr. del Sarto, Michael Angelo.	1511	History, portraits.	Pisga, Bologna, Florence, Ven. Naples, Rome.	1574
					Paris

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Paris Bordon.	Titian, imitated Giorgione.	$15\frac{12}{25}$	History, portraits.	Venice, France.	
Giacomo Robusti Tintoretto	Titian, studied Michael Angelo for design.	1512	History, portraits.	Venice.	1594
Giov. Porta, after Giuseppe Saluiati.	Francesco Saluiati.	$15\frac{16}{35}$	History.	Venice.	1585
Sir Ant. More of Utrecht.	Schoorel.	1519	History, portraits.	Italy, Spain, Flanders, Engl.	1575
Francis Floris.	Lambert Lombard, studied Michael Angelo.	1520	History.	Antwerp.	1570
Paolo Farinato.	Ant. Badille, Nicolo Golfino.	$15\frac{2}{6}$	Hist. sculpt. archit.	Verona, Mantua.	1606
Pellegrino Tebaldi.	Dan. da Volterra.	1522	History, architect.	Bologn. Rome, Milan, Mod.	1592
Andrea Schiauone.	Imitated Parmegiano.	1522	History.	Venice.	1582
Luca Cangiasi, or Cambiaso.	His father.	1527	History.	Genoa, Spain.	1583
Federico Barocci.	Battista Venetiano, stud. Raphael and Corregio.	1528	Histo. religious subjects chiefly.	Urbin, Rome.	1612
Girolomo Mutiano da Brescia.	Romanino, studied Mic. Angelo, Titian.	1528	Hist. port. landscap.	Rome.	1590
Taddeo Zuccaro.	Ottauiano his father, Pompeo da Fano.	1529	History.	Rome.	1566
Bartolomeo Passerotto.	Jacopo Vignuola, Tad. Zuccaro.		History, portraits.	Rome.	

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Paolo Calliari Veroneſe.	His father, Ant. Badille.	1533	Hiſtory, portraits.	Venice.	1588
Federico Zuccaro.	Taddeo Zuccaro.	1543	Hiſtory; portraits.	Rome, France, Spain, England.	1609
Martin de Vos.	Studied in Italy.	1540	Hiſtory.	Antwerp.	1604
Giacomo Palma Giouane.	His father Ant. Nephew of old Palma, ſtudied Titian and Tintoret.	1544	Hiſtory.	Venice.	1628
Paul Bril.		1550	Landſcapes.	Antwerp, Rome.	1622
Raffaelino da Reggio di Modena.	Federico Zuccaro.	1552	Hiſtory.	Rome.	1580
Lodouico Carracci.	Prof. Fon. Cami. Procaccino.	1555	Hiſtory.	Bologna, Rome.	1619
Antonio Tempeſta.	John Strada, a Fleming.	1555	Battles, huntings.	Rome.	1630
Agoſtino Carracci.	Proſp. Font. Lodouico. and Annib. Carracci.	1557	Hiſtory, graving.	Bologn. Rome, Parma.	1602
Lodouico Cigoli, or Ciuoli.	Studied And. del Sarto, and Corregio.	1559	Hiſtory.	Florence, Rome.	1613
Annibale Carracci.	Lod. Carracci, ſtudied Corregio, Titian, Raphael, and the antique.	1560	Hiſtory.	Bologna, Rome.	1609
Giuſeppe Ceſaraſeſe d'Arpino, Cau. Gioſeppino.	Raff. da Reggio, Lelio Nouellara, according to father Reſta.	1560	Hiſtory.	Rome, Naples.	1640

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Jean Rothamar, called Rottenhamer.	His father, Tintoret.	1564	Hiſtory.	Venice, Bavaria.	1604
Cau. Franceſco Vanni.	His father, imitated Barocci.	1568	Hiſt. relig. ſubjects.	Siena.	1615
Michael Angelo Amerigi Caravaggio.	Cau. Gioſeppino.	1569	Hiſtory, half fig.	Rome, Naples, Malt	1609
Jan Brueghel, called Fluweelen, or Velvet Brueg.	Peter Goe-kindt, ſtudied in Italy.	1569	Wakes, fairs, landſcap. little.		1625
Ventura Salinbene.	His father Arcangelo.		Hiſtory.	Rome, &c.	
Adam Elſheimer.	Philip Uffenbach, ſtudied in Rome.	1574	Hiſt. land. and night-pieces.	Rome. about	1510
Guido Reni.	Dion. Calv. the Carracches.	1575	Hiſtory.	Bologna, Rome.	1642
Sir Peter Paul Rubens.	Adam van Noort, Otho Venius, ſtud. in Italy.	1577	Hiſtory, portraits.	Antwerp.	1640
Aleſ. Tiarini.	Prof. Tontana.	1577	Hiſtory.	Bologna.	
Franceſco Albani.	DeCalv. Guido, theCarrach.	1578	Hiſtory.	Bologna, Rome.	1660
Gioſ. Ribera Spagnoletto.	Mich. Angelo Caravaggio.		Hiſtory.	Naples.	
Dominico Zampieri, called Dominichino.	D. Calvart, the Carracches.	1581	Hiſtory.	Bologn. Rome, Naples.	1641
Cau. Giov. Lanfranco.	Agoſt. An. Carracci ſtudied Raff. and Correg.	1581	Hiſtory.	Rome, Parma, Naples.	1647
Simon Vouet.	His father.	1582	Hiſtory, portraits.	Rome, Paris.	1641
Ant. Carracci, call'd il Gobbo	Annibale.	1583	Hiſtory.	Rome.	1618

MASTERS.	DISCIPLE of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Giov. Franc. Barbieri, detto il Guercino da Cento.	Benedetto Gennari.	1590	Hiſtory.	Rome, Bologna.	1666
Nicolas Pouſſin.	Had obſcure Maſters.	1594	Hiſtory, ſmall fig.	Rome.	1665
Pietro Berettini da Cortona.	A Florentine painter at Rome.	1596	Hiſtory.	Rome, Florence.	1669
Gio. Lorenzo Bernini.		1598			1680
Mario Nuzzi di Fiori.	Tomaſo Salini.	1599	Flowers.	Rome.	1672
Sir Anthony Vandyke.	Rubens.	1599	Hiſtory, portraits.	Antw. Italy, Lond.	1641
Goſpero Dughet, which he changed for Pouſſin.	His brother-in-law Nicolas Pouſſin.	1600	Landſcapes.	Rome.	1663
Mich. Angelo Cerquozzi delle Battaglie.	Ant. Saluatti Bologneſe.	1600	Battles, fruit.	Rome.	1660
Benedetto Caſtiglione Genoeſe.	Batt. Paggi, inſtructed by Vandyke, and ſtudied Pouſſin.		Hiſtory, landſc. animals.	Rambled in Italy.	
Claude Gille de Lorrain.	Agoſtino Taſſo.	1600	Landſcapes.	Rome.	1682
Andrea Ouche, alias Sacchi.	Albani.	1601	Hiſtory.	Rome. *	1661
Rembrandt van Rheyn.	Leſman of Amſterdam.	1606	Hiſtory, portraits.	Holland.	1668
Adrien Brouwer.	Frans Hals.	1608	Boors, and drolls.	Antwerp.	1638
Giacomo Corteſi Jeſuita, detto il Borgognone.			Battles.		

* Bellori, vit. but according to his epitaph, 1559—1661. Æt. 62.

Masters.	Disciple of	Born	Excelled in	Lived at	Died
Mr. Samuel Cooper.	Mr. Hoſkins, ſtud. Vandyke.	1609	Port. in miniature.	London.	1672
Mr. William Dobſon.		1610	Port.	London, Oxford.	1647
Mich. Angelo Pace, called di Campidoglio.	Fioravanti.	1610	Fruit, and ſtill life.	Rome.	1670
Abr. Diepenbec.	Rubens.		Hiſtory.		
Pietro Teſta.		1611	Hiſtory.	Rome.	1648
Salvator Roſa.	Daniele Falcone.	1614	Hiſtory, landſcape. Hiſtory, ſmall.	Rome.	1673
Filippo Laura.					
Carlo Dolce.		1616	Hiſtory.		1694
Euſtache le Sueur.	Voüet.	1617	Hiſtory.	Paris.	1655
Sir Peter Lely.	De Grebber of Haerlem.	1617	Portraiture.	London.	1680
Sebaſtien Bourdon.	Studied in Rome.	1619	Hiſtory, landſcape.	Rome, Sweden, Pari.	1673
Charles Le Brun.	His father, Voüet.	1620	Hiſtory.	Paris.	1690
Carlo Maratti.	Andr. Sacchi.	16$\frac{24}{25}$	Hiſtory, portraiture.	Rome.	1713
Luca Giordano, called Luca fà Preſto.	P. da Cortona.	1626	Hiſtory.	Rome, Florenc. Naples, Madrid	1694
Carlo Cignani.	Albano.	1628	Hiſtory.	Bologna, Ferrol.	
Ciro Ferri.	P. da Cartona.		Hiſtory.		
Mr. John Riley.	Zouſt, Fuller.	1646	Portraiture.	London.	1691
Giuſeppe Paſſari.	Carlo Maratti.	1654	Hiſtory.	Rome.	1714

AN

ESSAY

ON THE WHOLE

ART OF CRITICISM,

AS IT RELATES TO

PAINTING.

SHEWING HOW TO JUDGE,

I. Of the Goodneſs of a Picture.

II. Of the Hand of the Maſter.

AND

III. Whether it is an Original, or a Copy.

AN ESSAY ON THE ART OF CRITICISM, &c.

IT is true, the rules and priciples of an art are the materials whereby to form a judgment of the goodneſs of any production of that art. The Theory of Painting therefore, which I have already treated of, furniſhes ſuch for the judging of the goodneſs of a picture. But it is another art to know how to make proper uſe of thoſe; and this is what I have now undertaken to write upon in the firſt place.

And as I have been often aſked how we know the hands of the ſeveral maſters, and diſtinguiſh copies from originals, and am perſuaded a ſatisfactory anſwer to theſe queſtions will be very acceptable to moſt gentlemen, as well as to thoſe particular enquirers; I have determined to take this way of anſwering them all at once, and that more fully and accurately than could poſſibly have been done off-hand, and in the time I could have beſtowed in making particular anſwers.

I might have excuſed myſelf upon account of that buſineſs in the way of my profeſſion, in which I am conſtantly engaged; and it is a plea which I believe every one who knows me will be ready to make for me; but there are ſome hours, eſpecially in the winter-ſeaſon, not fit for painting; nor can a man always have his pencil in his hand in the long days of ſummer. Theſe portions of time, well huſbanded by temperance and prudence, amount to what is very conſiderable in the courſe of one's life; and ſufficient to diſpatch more than will be eaſily imagined by thoſe who have never tried, as being of an inactive temper and loving procraſtination; or who laviſh away their time in impertinent or criminal amuſements.

And as I could not honeſtly make any of this ſort, I will not trouble any of my readers with excuſes for my inability of the other kind: I aſſure them I am not inſenſible of it myſelf, but care not how little they obſerve it. Such as they are I have given them my thoughts as well as I could; and ſhall be glad if others are the better for my ſtudies in this way. And theſe have not been wanting; for, as from my infancy I have never had a taſte for the moſt part of what is generally called pleaſure and diverſion, whether from conſtitution, or upon a philoſophical, prudential or religious conſideration, but on the contrary always loved retirement and buſineſs, and, above all other ſtudies and employments, that of painting; and being competently, not to ſay abundantly, furniſhed with materials for my purpoſe (would to God however I had ſeen, or could yet ſee Italy!) I ſay, thus qualified, I have for ſome years paſt applied myſelf, with all my powers of body and mind, to this one purſuit, of adorning the province that had

had fallen to my lot; and have done it with impartiality and freedom.

I am well aware, that after all, I may peradventure be ſometimes miſtaken; let thoſe who think I am ſo in any inſtance conſider the matter as I have done, before they pronounce too poſitively, for neither are they infallible: Readers are too apt, at firſt ſight, to condemn as error, what an author may have found, after a laborious and tedious enquiry, to be truth. But however others may judge, or whether I am in the right, or miſtaken, I ſtand equally acquitted in my own mind, having taken the right way to arrive at truth. I have not taken any thing upon truſt; but have gone on and eſtabliſhed myſelf upon what appeared to me warranted by reaſon.

I aſk the reader's pardon for detaining him ſo long with what chiefly concerns myſelf; I will only take leave to plead one piece of merit, which I pretend to have with the public, and that is, that I have made a new acquiſition for the commonwealth of letters; I believe this is the only book extant upon the ſubject. Apelles wrote many volumes upon painting, perhaps among them ſomething might be ſaid on the knowledge of hands, and how to diſtinguiſh copies from originals; but theſe have long ago had the fate of all things not immortal. Father Orlandi, in his Abcedario Pittorico, has given us a catalogue of about one hundred and fifty books relating to painting in ſeveral languages, but none that I can find treats of this ſcience. M. de Piles (to whom we are obliged for ſome curious and uſeful hints he has furniſhed us with in his ſeveral works) is the only one I know of who hath ſo much as entered upon this matter; it is but ten or twelve pages in his Abregé de la

vie des Peintres. If I had received any advantage from what he has done on this head, conſiderable enough to require it, I ſhould not have failed to have acknowledged it on this occaſion; and yet I believe I have profited by it as much as any man has, or can poſſibly. Not but that M. de Piles ſeems well qualified upon ſeveral accounts to have given us great light in this matter, if he had thought fit, but he has not done it, he has only ſtruck out a ſlight ſketch of ſome common and obvious thoughts, and very little more. Whether the ſubject is worthy of a more elaborate eſſay the reader will judge for himſelf; it is evident I thought it was, and I flatter myſelf it will appear to have been not without reaſon; and as the politer part of mankind in general, delight in this engaging ſtudy, or value themſelves upon what ſkill they can attain to in judging of the hands and originality of theſe fine works, one muſt ſuppoſe that all theſe think as I do in this particular.

OF THE

GOODNESS OF A PICTURE, &c.

"WHEREFORE calleſt thou me good, "there is none good but one, that is "God?" ſaid the Son of God to the young man who prefaced a noble queſtion with that compliment. This is that goodneſs that is perfect, ſimple, and properly ſo called; it is what is peculiar to the Deity, and ſo, to be found no where elſe. But there is another improper, imperfect, comparative goodneſs, and no other than this is to be had in the works of men, and this admits of various degrees. A picture, drawing, or print therefore may be good though it has ſeveral faults.

In one of the Tatlers there is fine reaſoning to this purpoſe; "The heathen world had ſo little "notion that perfection was to be expected a-"mongſt men, that with them, any one quality or "endowment in an heroick degree made a god. "Hercules had ſtrength, but it was never ob-"jected to him that he wanted wit. Apollo pre-"ſided over wit, and it was never aſked whether "he had ſtrength. We hear no exceptions againſt "the beauty of Minerva, or the wiſdom of Ve-"nus. Theſe wiſe heathens were glad to im-"mortalize any one ſerviceable gift, and over-"look all imperfections in the perſon that had it."

If in a picture the ſtory be well choſen, and finely told (at leaſt) if not improved, if it fill the mind with noble and inſtructive ideas, I will not ſcruple to ſay it is an excellent picture, though the drawing be as much ſhort of preciſe cor-

rectneſs as that of Corregio, Titian, or Rubens; the colouring as diſagreeable even as that of Polidore, Battiſta Franco, or Michael Angelo. Nay, though there is no other good but that of the colouring, and the pencil, I will venture to call it a good picture; that is, that it is good in thoſe reſpects. In the firſt inſtance here is a fine ſtory artfully communicated to my imagination, not by ſpeech, nor writing, but in a manner preferable to either of them; in the other there is a beautiful and delightful object, and a fine piece of workmanſhip, to ſay no more of it.

There never was a picture in the world without ſome faults, and very rarely is there one to be found which is not notoriouſly defective in ſome of the parts of painting. In judging of it's goodneſs, one ſhould pronounce it ſuch in proportion to the number of the good qualities it has, and their degrees of goodneſs. I will add, and, as a philoſopher, one ſhould only conſider the excellency we ſee, and enjoy that, as being, all belonging to it. No more regretting what it has not, or thinking of it ſo as to diminiſh our pleaſure in that it has, than we do the want of taſte in a roſe, ſpeech in a picture of Vandyke, or life in one of Raphael.

There are two ways whereby a gentleman may come to be perſuaded of the goodneſs of a picture or drawing; he may neither have leiſure nor inclination to become a connoiſſeur himſelf, and yet may delight in theſe fine productions, and deſire to poſſeſs them; he hath no way then but to take up his opinions upon truſt, and implicitly depend upon another's judgment. Here his own is determined, upon arguments in favour of the honeſty and underſtanding of the man he relies on;

on; not at all relating to the intrinſick worth of the work in queſtion; and this may be the wiſeſt and beſt courſe he can take, all things conſidered: though it is certain, when a man judgeth for himſelf he may arrive at a higher degree of perſuaſion that the picture or drawing is good; becauſe one man may be as good a judge as another, if he applies himſelf to it; ſo that here the gentleman, and his guide are upon an equality; either indeed may be miſtaken, but he that relies upon the judgment of another, hath a double chance againſt him of being deceived, for he may be miſtaken in his opinion of the honeſty, or underſtanding of this other.

This way of judging upon the authority of another I meddle not with: The firſt thing then to be done in order to become a good connoiſſeur one's ſelf, is to avoid prejudices, and falſe reaſoning.

Error abounds every where; we are ſurrounded with miſtake; from our infancy we imbide notions and principles, without any, or upon ſlight examination; and what are, at all, conſidered, are uſually built on others already admitted, without due conſideration. Theſe crudities ſtill produce more, and the accumulated heap encreaſeth with our years; and would be greater than it is, but that many are forgotten, and others carried off by accidental conviction; ſometimes from truths, and ſometimes from new miſtakes.

We ſhould conſider ourſelves as rational beings at large, no matter of what age, or of what country, nor even of what part of the univerſe we are inhabitants, no more than it would be to conſider ourſelves as of ſuch a city, or ſuch a pariſh. Opinions taken up early, and from thoſe we have

loved and honoured, and which we ſee to be approved and applauded by ſuch, be their numbers ever ſo great, muſt have no advantage with us upon theſe accounts. Neither muſt our own paſſions, or intereſt be allowed to give the leaſt biaſs to our judgments when we are upon a rational enquiry. A connoiſſeur muſt conſider the ancients, the Italians, Vandyke, Annibale Caracci, Giulio Romano, Michael Angelo, and even the divine Raphael himſelf as fallible, and examine their works with the ſame unbiaſſed indifferency, as if he had never heard of ſuch men. Nor muſt any thing be taken for granted; we muſt examine up to firſt principles, and go on ſtep by ſtep, in all our deductions; contenting ourſelves with that degree of light we can thus ſtrike out, without fancying any degree of aſſent is due to any propoſition beyond what we can ſee evidence for; if the nature of the thing admits of no proof, we are to give no aſſent. And as truth is uniform, and evermore conſiſtent with itſelf, the mind thus remains in perfect ſerenity; whereas we muſt be eternally perplexed and uneaſy if we mix reaſon with prejudice, and when we diſcover a bright beam of truth by rational evidence, endeavour to reconcile it with propoſitions taken up in another manner, if thoſe happen to be erroneous; and ſtill the more, if, for the ſake of thoſe unexamined notions, we reject what our reaſon is otherwiſe convinced of.

There are certain arguments, which a connoiſſeur is utterly to reject, as not being ſuch by which he is to form his judgment, of what uſe ſoever they may be to thoſe who are incapable of judging otherwiſe, or who will not take the pains to know better. Some of theſe have really no

weight

weight at all in them, the beſt are very precarious, and only ſerve to perſuade us the thing is good in general, not in what reſpect it is ſo. That a picture or drawing has been, or is much eſteemed by thoſe who are believed to be good judges; or is, or was part of a famous collection, coſt ſo much, has a rich frame, or the like. Whoever makes uſe of ſuch arguments as theſe, beſides that they are very fallacious, takes the thing upon truſt, which a good connoiſſeur ſhould never condeſcend to do. That it is old, Italian, rough, ſmooth. Theſe are circumſtances hardly worth mentioning, and which belong equally to good and bad. A picture or drawing may be too old to be good; but in the golden age of painting, which was that of Raphael, about two hundred years ago, there were wretched painters, as well as before, and ſince; and in Italy, as well as elſewhere. Nor is a picture the better, or the worſe, for being rough, or ſmooth, ſimply conſidered. Of works that are left us of the ancients themſelves, nine parts in ten are but indifferent, and many wretched. One of the commoneſt and moſt deluding arguments that is uſed on this occaſion is, that it is of the hand of ſuch a one. Though this has no great weight in it, even admitting it to be really of that hand, which very often it is not: The beſt maſters have had their beginnings and decays, and great inequalities throughout their whole lives, as ſhall be more fully noted hereafter. That it is done by one who has had great helps and opportunities of improving himſelf, or one that ſays he is a great maſter, is what people are very ready to be cheated by, and not one jot the leſs for having found that they have been ſo cheated again and again before, nay, though they juſtly laugh

laugh at, and deſpiſe the man at the ſame time. To infer a thing is, becauſe it ought to be, is unreaſonable, becauſe experience ſhould teach us better; but often we think there are opportunities, and advantages where there are none, or not in the degree we imagine; and to take a man's own word, where his intereſt, or vanity ſhould make us ſuſpect him is ſufficiently unaccountable. Whoever builds upon a ſuppoſition of the good ſenſe, and integrity of mankind has a very ſandy foundation, and yet this is what we find many a popular argument reſts upon, in other caſes, as well as in this. But, (as I ſaid) whether theſe kind of arguments above-mentioned have any thing in them or not, a connoiſſeur has nothing to do with them; his buſineſs is to judge from the intrinſic qualities of the thing itſelf; as when a man receives a propoſition in divinity, (for example) not becauſe it was believed by his anceſtors, or eſtabliſhed a thouſand years ago, or for whatever other ſuch like reaſons; but becauſe he has examined, and conſidered the thing itſelf as if it were juſt now offered to the world, and abſolutely diveſted of all thoſe collateral advantages.

In making our remarks upon a picture, or a drawing, we are only to conſider what we find, without any regard to what, perhaps, the maſter intended. It is commonly ſaid of commentators, that they diſcover more beauties than the author ever thought of: perhaps they do; and what then? are they leſs beauties for that, or leſs worthy our notice? or are there not defects alſo that were never intended? If one may not be brought to account, neither let the other: This is the advantage a writer, or painter, or any other artiſt ought to have;

have; his lucky inadvertencies ſhould help to ballance againſt his unlucky ones.

But after all, perhaps theſe beauties were thought of, and intended by the maſter or author; and perhaps, a great many more than the commentator ever dreamt of: and perhaps alſo what are judged to be defects are not ſo. The author, or artiſt of what ſort ſoever (if he be a good one eſpecially) is in more danger of ſuffering by the overſights, ignorance, malice, or other evil quality of his commentators, than he is likely to gain by their penetration, indulgence, good nature, or whatever other good quality. Commentators are in a fine ſituation! We, like the poor mariners, with infinite pains and hazards fetch in from all parts things for uſe or delight; they, like the merchants at their eaſe receive all from our hands, and ſay this is well, or that ill, as their opinion or caprice ſuggeſts. For God's ſake, let us have juſtice if we are not allowed indulgence: Let there not be a draw-back upon what is well, and none on what is amiſs: Either let ſuppoſes, and peradventures be equally admitted on both ſides; or (which is better) let them be intirely excluded.

To judge of the goodneſs of a picture, drawing, or print, it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh to ourſelves a ſyſtem of rules to be applied to that we intend to give a judgment of; theſe are no other than thoſe which he that is to give ſuch judgment would have been directed by, had he been to have made, what now he is to judge of.

And theſe rules muſt be our own; whether as being the reſult of our own ſtudy and obſervation, and drawn up and compoſed by us; or by ſome other, and examined, and approved by us.

Here

Here in order to make this discourse as compleat as I could I should have been obliged to have given such a system, but having done that at large in my former essay, that affair is over, it is at the reader's service, and he may use that or any other, or one composed out of several, with additions and improvements, or without, as he thinks fit: However I will here make him an offer of an abstract of what I take to be those by which a painter or connoisseur may safely conduct himself, referring to the preceding essay for further satisfaction.

I. The subject, whatever it be, history, portrait, landscape, &c. must be finely imagined, and if possible improved in the painter's hands; he must think well as a historian, poet, philosopher, or divine, and moreover as a painter in making a wise use of all the advantages of his art, and finding expedients to supply its defects.

II. The expression must be proper to the subject, and the characters of the persons; it must be strong, so that the dumb-shew may be perfectly well, and readily understood. Every part of the picture must contribute to this end; colours, animals, draperies, and especially the actions of the figures, and above all the airs of the heads.

III. There must be one principal light, and this, and all the subordinate ones with the shadows and reposes, must make one intire harmonious mass; the several parts must be well connected and contrasted, so as that the whole composition at first view, must be grateful to the eye, as a good piece of musick is to the ear. By this means the picture is not only more delightful, but better seen and comprehended.

IV. The

IV. The drawing muſt be juſt; nothing muſt be flat, lame, or ill-proportioned; and theſe proportions muſt vary according to the characters of the perſons drawn.

V. The colouring, whether gay or ſolid, muſt be natural, beautiful and clean, and what the eye is delighted with, in ſhadows as well as lights and middle tints.

VI. And whether the colours are laid on thick, or finely wrought, it muſt appear to be done by a light and accurate hand.

Laſtly, Nature muſt be the foundation. This muſt ſtill and ever appear; but nature muſt be raiſed and improved, not only from what is commonly ſeen to what is but rarely; but even yet higher, from a judicious and beautiful idea in the painter's mind, ſo that grace and greatneſs may ſhine throughout; more or leſs however as the ſubject may happen to be. And herein conſiſts the principal excellency of a picture or drawing.

Theſe few plain rules, being thoroughly comprehended and remembered (which may be done with a tolerable meaſure of good ſenſe, a little trouble in reading, and a good deal of obſervation on nature, and pictures and drawings of good maſters) I will venture to ſay are ſufficient to qualify a gentleman to be a good judge in theſe matters, as being derived from, and evidently founded upon reaſon; and though not deſtitute of abundant authority, yet neither borrowed from thence, or at all truſting to that for their ſupport.

And, let me be again permitted to ſay it, I advance nothing upon the foot of authority. Whatever authorities there may be for any propoſition, the ſingle value of theſe themſelves conſiſts in their being derived from reaſon; and they weigh with me

me in proportion as I can ſee they do ſo; they then become my own, and I have no occaſion to produce the author, but the reaſon: Or (if this be obvious) leave it to be obſerved by the reader.

And the matter would terminate here, though we had a book of rules for painting ſaid to be written by Apelles himſelf, and it were allowed that what Apelles ſaid was infallibly true; for then, inſtead of ſaying are theſe rules good, are they founded upon reaſon? the queſtion would only be, Are they really of him? Their authority then will reſt, not upon the credit of Apelles, but upon the teſtimony of thoſe who affirm they are his. Which I ſhall not want, if I find the rules to be good; and if I do not, it will be inſufficient: And all this without the leaſt prejudice to the profound reſpect I have for Apelles; nay, it is a neceſſary conſequence of it.

To judge of the degrees of goodneſs of a picture or drawing, it is neceſſary that the connoiſſeur ſhould be thoroughly acquainted and perpetually converſant with the beſt. For how perfectly ſoever he may be maſter of the rules of the art, he will know that thoſe are like what divines call precepts of perfection; that is, they are given as what we ſhould endeavour to go by as far as we are able. The beſt things we know will be the ſtandard by which we ſhall judge of thoſe and all the reſt. Carlo Maratti and Giuſeppe Chiari will be a Raphael, and Giulio Romano, to him who has never ſeen better; and then an inferior maſter will make a good Carlo. I have been ſurprized to obſerve what pleaſure ſome connoiſſeurs have taken in what another looked upon with little, if not with contempt, until I have conſidered one was not ſo well acquainted

acquainted with the works of the beſt maſters as the other, and that accounts for it ſufficiently.

All the different degrees of goodneſs in painting may be reduced to theſe three general claſſes. The mediocre or indifferently good, the excellent, and the ſublime. The firſt is of a large extent; the ſecond much narrower; and the laſt ſtill more ſo. I believe moſt people have a pretty clear and juſt idea of the two former; the other is not ſo well underſtood; which therefore I will define according to the ſenſe I have of it; and I take it to conſiſt of the higheſt degrees of excellence in thoſe kinds and parts of painting which are excellent; the ſublime therefore muſt be marvellous and ſurprizing; it muſt ſtrike vehemently upon the mind, and fill and captivate it irreſiſtibly.

Upon this occaſion we will juſt enquire, en paſſant, whether it is our intereſt to have ſo refined a taſte in general, as to be pleaſed only with a very few things, and theſe rarely to be found; which therefore contracts our enjoyments, whereas it is our buſineſs rather to enlarge them. It will be readily ſuggeſted in anſwer to this, That what is loſt upon account of the number of our pleaſures, will be gained in the quality of them. The queſtion then will be, Whether the noiſy, tumultuous pleaſures of the vulgar are not equivalent to thoſe which the moſt refined wits taſte; that is, whether one man is not as happy, or pleaſed (which is the ſame thing) with an uncommon, diverting accident at the bear-garden, or with a bad picture, as another in conſidering ſome of the nobleſt inſtances of the ſublime in Raphael or Homer? The anſwer to which is very ſhort, He is not; and that for the ſame reaſon as an oyſter is not capable of the ſame degree of pleaſure as a man. It will not follow however that,

that, upon the foot of the account, one is more happy than the other; becauſe that delicacy and acuteneſs of mind which is ſuſceptible of the greateſt pleaſure, is proportionably ſo with reſpect to its contrary: But the competition is not now betwixt enjoyment and miſery, but one pleaſure and another. And thus it appears, that a man is in no danger of diminiſhing his happineſs by refining his taſte. "God was not in the ſtorm, nor in the "earthquake, nor in the fire, but in the ſtill ſmall "voice."

Hitherto I have been conſidering the goodneſs of a picture as being done according to the rules of art: There is another kind of goodneſs, and that is, as the picture or drawing anſwers the ends intended to be ſerved by them; of which there are ſeveral, but all reducible to theſe two general ones, pleaſure and improvement.*

I am ſorry the great and principal end of the art hath hitherto been ſo little conſidered; I do not mean by gentlemen only, but by thoſe who ought to have gone higher, and to have taught others to have followed them. It is no wonder if many who are accuſtomed to think ſuperficially look on pictures as they would on a piece of rich hangings; or if ſuch as theſe (and ſome painters among the reſt) fix upon the pencil, the colouring, or perhaps the drawing, and ſome little circumſtantial parts in the picture, or even the juſt repreſentation of common nature, without penetrating into the idea of the painter, and the beauties of the hiſtory, or fable. I ſay, it is no wonder if this ſo frequently happens when thoſe,

* Et prodeſſe volunt & delectare poetæ:
Ut pictura poeſis. HOR. Ar. Poet. 333.

whether

whether ancients or moderns, who have wrote of painting, in deſcribing the works of painters in their lives, or on other occaſions, have very rarely done any more; or, in order to give us a great idea of ſome of the beſt painters, have told us ſuch ſilly ſtories * as that of the curtain of Parrhaſius which deceived Zeuxis, of the ſmall lines one upon the other in the contention † between Apelles and Protogenes, of the ‡ circle of Giotto, and ſuch like; trifles, which if a man were ever ſo expert at, without going many degrees higher, he would not be worthy the name of a painter, ‖ much leſs of being remembered by poſterity with honour.

It is true, there are ſome kinds of pictures which can do no more than pleaſe, as it is the caſe of ſome kinds of writings; but one may as well ſay a library is only for ornament and oſtentation, as a collection of pictures or drawings. If ſuch is the only end, I am ſure it is not from any defect in the nature of the things themſelves.

I repeat it again, and would inculcate it, painting is a fine piece of workmanſhip; it is a beautiful ornament, and as ſuch gives us pleaſure; but over and above this, painters are upon the level with writers, as being poets, hiſtorians, philoſophers and divines, they entertain and inſtruct

* See Pliny, Hiſt. Nat. xxx. 10.

† Id. ib.

‡ See Vaſari in his life.

‖ ——— Neque enim concludere verſum
Dixeris eſſe ſatis, neque ſi quis ſcribat, uti nos,
Sermoni propiora; putes hunc eſſe poetam.
Ingenium cui ſit, cui mens divinior, atque os
Magna ſonaturum, des nomines hujus honorem.
HOR. Sat. iv. 40.

equally with them. This is true, and manifeſt beyond diſpute, whatever mens notions have been;

> To wake the ſoul by tender ſtrokes of art,
> To raiſe the genius, and to mend the heart.
> Mr. POPE.

is the buſineſs of painting as well as of tragedy.

There being pictures of ſeveral kinds, ſome capable only of pleaſing, and others alſo of inſtructing and improving the mind; this being the nobler end, a difference ought to be made accordingly; two pictures may be equally good, with reſpect to the rules of the art, equally well drawn, coloured, &c. but very different, with reſpect to the rank they ought to hold in our eſtimation: A boor opening of muſcles, and a Madona may be one as well painted as the other, but there can be no diſpute when the queſtion is, which of theſe two is preferable.

So ſeveral of the parts of painting may be equally well in the ſame picture, but they are not equally conſiderable in themſelves; a fine pencil (for example) is not comparable to a fine invention.

When therefore we are to make a judgment in what degree of goodneſs a picture or drawing is, we ſhould conſider its kind firſt, and then its ſeveral parts. A hiſtory is preferable to a landſcape, ſea-piece, animals, fruit, flowers, or any other ſtill life, pieces of drollery, &c. the reaſon is, the latter kinds may pleaſe, and in proportion as they do ſo they are eſtimable, and that is according to every one's taſte, but they cannot improve the mind, they excite no noble ſentiments; at leaſt not as the other naturally does. Theſe not only give us pleaſure, as being beautiful objects, and furniſhing

furniſhing us with ideas as the other do, but the pleaſure we receive from hence is greater (I ſpeak in general, and what the nature of the thing is capable of) it is of a nobler kind than the other; and then moreover, which is the chief of all, the mind may be enriched and made better.

A portrait is a ſort of general hiſtory of the life of the perſon it repreſents, not only to him who is acquainted with it, but to many others, who upon occaſion of ſeeing it are frequently told, of what is moſt material concerning him, or his general character at leaſt; the face and figure is alſo deſcribed, and as much of the character as appears by theſe, which oftentimes is here ſeen in a very great degree. Theſe therefore many times anſwer the ends of hiſtorical pictures. And to relations or friends give a pleaſure greater than any other can.

There are many ſingle heads which are hiſtorical, and may be applied to ſeveral ſtories. I have many ſuch; I have, for inſtance, a boy's head of Parmegiano, in whoſe every feature appears ſuch an overflowing joy, and that too not common, but holy and divine, that I imagine him a little angel rejoicing at the birth of the Son of God. I have another of Leonardo da Vinci of a youth very angelical, and in whom yet appears an air ſuch as Milton deſcribes

——— Dim ſadneſs did not ſpare
That time celeſtial viſages, yet mixt
With pity, violated not their bliſs.

This I ſuppoſe to be preſent at the agony of our Lord, or his crucifixion, or ſeeing him dead, with his bleſſed mother in that her vaſt diſtreſs. Single figures may be alſo thus applied and made hiſto-

rical. But heads, not thus applicable, muſt be reckoned in an inferior claſs, and more or leſs ſo according as they happen to be. As portraits that are not known are not equally conſiderable with thoſe that are; though upon account of the dignity of the ſubject they may be reckoned in the firſt claſs of thoſe wherein the principal end of painting is not fully anſwered, and capable however of the ſublime.

The kind of picture or drawing having been conſidered, regard is to be had to the parts of painting; we ſhould ſee in which of theſe they excel, and in what degree it excels.

And theſe ſeveral parts do not equally contribute to the ends of painting; but (I think) ought to ſtand in this order:

GRACE AND GREATNESS,
INVENTION,
EXPRESSION,
COMPOSITION,
COLOURING,
DRAWING,
HANDLING.

The laſt can pleaſe only; the next (by which I underſtand pure nature, for the great and genteel ſtile of drawing falls into another part) this alſo can only pleaſe, colouring pleaſes more; compoſition pleaſes at leaſt as much as colouring, and moreover helps to inſtruct, as it makes thoſe parts that do ſo more conſpicuous; expreſſion pleaſes, and inſtructs greatly; the invention does both in a higher degree, and grace and greatneſs above all. Nor is it peculiar to that ſtory, fable, or whatever the ſubject is, but in general raiſes our idea

idea of the ſpecies, gives a moſt delightful virtuous pride, and kindles in noble minds an ambition to act up to that dignity thus conceived to be in human nature. In the former parts the eye is employed, in the other the underſtanding.

By thus conſidering in what rank of eſtimation the ſeveral parts of painting ought to ſtand, we may (by the way) obſerve what degrees of merit each maſter hath, for thoſe are more or leſs in proportion as he has excelled in thoſe parts which are preferable. Thus Albert Durer, though his deſign was very correct, can by no means ſtand in competition with Corregio, who was defective in that particular, becauſe the latter had grace and greatneſs, which the other had not.

And thus alſo it is ſeen that drawings, in many reſpects, are preferable to paintings, as having thoſe qualities which are moſt excellent in a higher degree than paintings generally have, or can poſſibly have; and the others (excepting only colouring) equally with them. There is a grace, a delicacy, a ſpirit in drawings, which, when the maſter attempts to give them in colours, are commonly much diminiſhed; theſe being a ſort of copying from thoſe firſt thoughts; and while the maſter is labouring to attain qualities that drawings have not, he loſes, in ſome degree, thoſe which they have, and which are of a higher kind.

There are other conſiderations relating to pictures, drawings, and more particularly to prints; but as theſe are intirely diſtinct from that of their goodneſs as works of art, and are only concerning their value to the buyer or ſeller, ſuch as the condition they are in, their rarity, or other ſuch like circumſtances; though theſe things are of importance on ſome occaſions they are foreign to

the ſubject of my preſent diſcourſe, and ſo it is enough juſt to have mentioned them.

Whatever we look upon therefore ſhould be conſidered diſtinctly and particularly, and not only ſeen in general to be fine or not, but nicely defined, wherein it is one or the other. Moſt of our writers have been very ſuperficial in this reſpect; they have ſaid where a picture of ſuch a maſter was, and have told us the ſubject, and beſtowed certain epithets upon it, as that it was divine, ſurprizing, or that ſuch a figure ſeemed to be alive, and the like; and this without diſtinction to works of very different characters, but the ſame general deſcriptions ſerve for all; ſo that we can have no clear idea of them from thoſe authors; and I do not doubt but moſt of thoſe that look upon pictures or drawings, take in ſuch imperfect, unformed and confuſed ideas; if we are pleaſed or diſpleaſed, if our minds are improved or hurt, we ſhould obſerve from what cauſe this has happened, what part of painting the maſter has ſucceeded, or been defective in, and to what degree? Or is this owing to the ſubject, rather than to the manner of treating it, and how far? Such, and the like conſiderations will help to give us clear and diſtinct ideas of the work and the maſter, which a good connoiſſeur ſhould always form in his mind. And the better to do this he ſhould

Laſtly, Obſerve method and order in his way of thinking; not mixing and jumbling obſervations of different kinds, but going on gradually from one thing to another, diſpatching the firſt before he embarraſſeth himſelf with any other.

And this every one may do for himſelf, and perhaps better than he can be directed by another.

The

The following method seems to me to be the most natural, convenient, and proper.

Before you come so near the picture to be considered as to look into particulars, or even to be able to know what the subject of it is, at least before you take notice of that, observe the tout-ensemble of the masses, and what kind of one the whole makes together. It will be proper at the same distance to consider the general colouring; whether that be grateful, chearing, and delightful to the eye, or disagreeable; then let the composition be examined near, and see the contrasts, and other particularities relating to it, and so finish your observations on that head. The same then may be done with respect to the colouring; then the handling, and afterwards the drawing; these being dispatched, the mind is at liberty carefully to consider the invention; then to see how well the expression is performed. And lastly, what grace and greatness is spread throughout, and how suitable to each character.

Monsieur de Piles has a pretty thought of a scale, whereby he gives an idea in short of the merit of the painters. I have given some account of it in the latter end of my former essay. This, with a little alteration and improvement may be of great use to lovers of art and connoisseurs.

I will keep to the number 18 to denote the highest degree of excellence; and that, and the preceding one shall stand for the sublime in those parts of painting that are capable of it. 16. 15. 14. 13. shall denote excellence in these 4 degrees, as from 12 to 5 inclusive shall signify the mediocre: And though bad pictures are not worth our notice at all, good ones may be bad in some particulars; I will therefore reserve the other 4 numbers

to expreſs that. Not that the province of bad is of no greater extent than that of excellent, but becauſe good maſters, whoſe works only I am concerned about, very rarely ſink many degrees into bad; if it ſhould ſo happen, let that be marked with a cypher only.

The uſe to be made of this ſcale is this: A little pocket-book might be always ready, every leaf of which ſhould be prepared as ſhall be ſeen preſently. And when one conſiders a picture, an eſtimate might be made of it by putting ſuch figures under each head as ſhall be judged proper; or more than one if in one part of the picture there be any conſiderable difference from what is in another, or if there be a double conſideration requiring it.

I will give a ſpecimen of what I have been propoſing; and the ſubject ſhall be a portrait of Vandyke, which I have: it is a half-length of a counteſs dowager of Exeter, as I learn from the print made of it by Faithorn, and this is almoſt all one can learn from that concerning the picture, beſides the general attitude and diſpoſition of it.

The dreſs is black velvet, and that appearing almoſt one large ſpot, the lights not being ſo managed as to connect it with the other parts of the picture; the face and linen at the neck, and the two hands, and broad cuffs at the wriſts, being by this means three ſeveral ſpots of light, and that near of an equal degree, and forming almoſt an equilateral triangle, the baſe of which is parallel to that of the picture, the compoſition is defective; and this occaſioned chiefly from the want of thoſe lights upon the black. But ſo far as the head, and almoſt to the waiſt, with the curtain behind, there is an admirable harmony; the chair alſo

alſo makes a medium between the figure and the ground. The eye is delivered down into that dead black ſpot, the drapery, with great eaſe; the neck is covered with linen, and at the breaſt the top of the ſtomacher makes a ſtraight line. This would have been very harſh and diſagreeable, but that it is very artfully broken by the bows of a knot of narrow ribbon which riſe above that line in fine, well-contraſted ſhapes. This knot faſtens a jewel on the breaſt, which alſo helps to produce the harmony of this part of the picture; and the white gloves which the lady holds in her left hand, helps the compoſition ſomething, as they vary that light ſpot from that which the other hand and linen make.

The general hue of the colouring is extreamly beautiful; it is ſolemn, but warm, mellow, clean, and natural; the fleſh, which is exquiſitely good, eſpecially the face, the black habit, the linen and cuſhion, the chair of crimſon velvet, and the gold flowered curtain mixt with a little crimſon have an admirable effect, and would be perfect were there a middle tinct among the black.

The face and hands, are a model for a pencil in portrait painting; it is not Vandyke's firſt laboured Flemiſh manner, nor in the leaſt careleſs or ſlight; the colours are well wrought, and touched in his beſt ſtyle; nor is the curtain in the leaſt inferior in this particular, though the manner is varied as it ought to be, the pencil is there more ſeen than in the fleſh; the hair, veil, chair, and indeed throughout, except the black dreſs is finely handled.

The face is admirably well drawn; the features are pronounced clean, and firmly, ſo as it is evident he who did that, conceived ſtrong and diſtinct ideas, and ſaw wherein the lines that formed

formed thoſe differed from all others; there appears nothing of the antique, or Raphael taſte of deſigning; but nature, well underſtood, well choſen, and well managed; the lights and ſhadows are juſtly placed and ſhaped, and both ſides of the face anſwer well to each other. The jewel on the breaſt is finely diſpoſed, and directs the eye to the line between the breaſts, though concealed otherwiſe by the widow dreſs, and gives the body there a great relief; the girdle alſo hath a good effect, for by being marked pretty ſtrongly the eye is ſhown the waiſt very readily. The linen, the jewel, the gold curtain, the gauſe veil are all extreamly natural, that is they are juſtly drawn and coloured. But the want of thoſe lights I have ſo often lamented is the cauſe that the figure does not appear to ſit firmly, the thighs and knees are loſt. Nor is the drawing of the arms, nor even of the hands altogether as one would wiſh, particularly the left, and this not only in the outlines, but the lights and ſhadows; eſpecially of that hand, which by being too light is brought out of its true place, and nearer the eye than it ought to be. There are alſo ſome overſights in the perſpective of the chair and curtain; in the lineal part of the former, and in the aërial part in both.

Theſe being thus diſpatched we are at liberty to conſider the invention. Vandyke's thought ſeems to have been that the lady ſhould be ſitting in her own room receiving a viſit of condolance from an inferior with great benignity, as ſhall be ſeen preſently; I would here obſerve the beauty and propriety of this thought. For by this the picture is not an inſipid repreſentation of a face and dreſs, but here is alſo a picture of the mind, and what more proper to a widow than ſorrow?

and

and more becoming a perſon of quality than humility and benevolence? Beſides, had ſhe been ſuppoſed to have appeared to her equals, or ſuperiors, the furniture of the place muſt have been mourning, and her gloves on, but the colours of the curtain and chair, and the contraſt occaſioned by the gloves in her hand have a fine effect.

Never was a calm becoming ſorrow better expreſſed than in this face, chiefly there where it is always moſt conſpicuous, that is in the eyes: Not Guido Reni, no, nor Raphael himſelf could have conceived a paſſion with more delicacy, or more ſtrongly expreſſed it! to which alſo the whole attitude of the figure contributes not a little; her right hand drops eaſily from the elbow of the chair, which her wriſt lightly reſts upon, the other lies in her lap towards her left knee, all which together appears ſo eaſy and careleſs, that what is loſt in the compoſition by the regularity I have taken notice of, is gained in the expreſſion; which, being of greater conſequence, juſtifies Vandyke in the main, and ſhows his great judgment, for though as it is, there is (as I ſaid) ſomething amiſs, I cannot conceive any way of avoiding that inconvenience without a greater.

And notwithſtanding the defects I have taken the liberty to remark, with the ſame indifferency as I have obſerved the beauties, that is, without the leaſt regard to the great name of the maſter, there is a grace throughout that charms, and a greatneſs that commands reſpect; ſhe appears at firſt ſight to be a well-bred woman of quality, by her face, and in her mien; and as her dreſs, ornaments, and furniture contribute ſomething to the greatneſs, the gauſe veil coming over her forehead, and the hem of it hiding a defect (which was want

of

of eye-brows,) is a fine artifice to give more grace. This grace and greatneſs is not that of Raphael, or the antique, but what is ſuitable to a portrait, to one of her age and character; and conſequently better than if ſhe had appeared with the grace of a Venus, or Helena, or the majeſty of a Minerva, or Semiramis.

It remains to conſider this picture in the other view; we have ſeen in what degree the rules of painting have been obſerved; let us now enquire how far the ends of pleaſure, and advantage are anſwered.

And this is more or leſs as a man's preſent fancy, judgment, or other circumſtances happen to be; theſe conſiderations are purely perſonal, and every man muſt judge for himſelf. Here therefore I ſhall be very ſhort, I will omit many reflections that I might make, and expatiate upon, and only touch ſome of the principal.

The beauty and harmony of the colouring give me a great degree of pleaſure; for, though this is grave and ſolid, it hath a beauty not leſs than what is bright and gay. So much of the compoſition as is good does alſo much delight the eye; and though the lady is not young, nor remarkably handſome, the grace and greatneſs that are here repreſented pleaſe exceedingly. In a word, as throughout this whole picture one ſees inſtances of an accurate hand, and fine thought, theſe muſt give proportionable pleaſure to ſo hearty a lover as I am.

The advantages of this picture to me, as a painter, are very conſiderable. A better maſter for portrait painting, and the ſimple repreſentation of nature, as it is, perhaps never was, and a better manner of this maſter I have never ſeen: there

there is such a benignity, such a genteel, becoming behaviour, such a decent sorrow, and resignation expressed here, that a man must be very insensible that is not the better for considering it; the mourning habit excites serious thoughts, which may produce good effects. But what I confess I am particularly affected with, I who (I thank God) have for many years been happy as a husband, is the circumstance of widowhood, not that it gives me sorrow as remembering the conjugal knot must be cut, but I rejoice that it yet subsists.

Hail sacred wedlock where discretion join'd
With virtue chooses, and approves the choice.
" Perpetual fountain of domestick sweets!
" Here Love his golden shafts employs, here lights
" His constant lamp, and waves his purple wings,
" Reigns here, and revels;" not in the bought smile
Of harlots, equally obtain'd by all,
And with contempt, and various terrors mixt.
This sweet society dissolves our fears,
Doubles our pleasures, and divides our cares;
Here love with friendship, and esteem is found,
And mutual joy with innocence is crown'd.

I will only add before I produce my scale, that this being a portrait, and the face therefore by much the most considerable, I have made a particular column for that, which for other pictures is not necessary.

Countess

Countefs Dowager of Exeter.

VANDYKE.

October the 16th, 1717.

		FACE.
Compofition	10	18
Colouring	17	18
Handling	17	18
Drawing	10	17
Invention	18	18
Expreffion	18	18
Grace and Greatnefs	18	18

Advantage		Pleafure
18	Sublime.	16

The blank is for landfcapes or animals, or any other particular in a hiftory, or portrait that is worthy remarking in an article by itfelf. That at the bottom for any memorandum that may be thought proper befides what is faid at top where the picture, owner, time feen, &c. may be fpecified.

Whoever

Whoever practices a regular way of considering a picture or drawing, will, I am confident, find the benefit of it; and if they will moreover note down the degrees of estimation, in this manner, it will be of further use; it will give a man a more clear and distinct idea of the thing, it will be a further exercise of his judgment, a remembrance of what he hath seen, and by considering it together with the picture, months, or years afterwards, he will see whether his judgment is altered, and wherein.

And if still any one will give himself the trouble to make a dissertation upon what he thinks worthy of it, such a scale of merit, made upon the place, will serve as short notes to help his memory if he hath not the picture before him; but the making such a dissertation will be a fine exercise of a gentleman's abilities as a connoisseur, and may moreover be an agreeable amusement.

In such dissertation it will not be necessary for any one to confine himself to the order in which it is best to consider the picture; he may begin at the invention, if a history, or at the face, if a portrait, or how he thinks best; and remark on the advantage and pleasure to be had from it or not.

Notwithstanding what I have already done, I fancy an example of such a dissertation will not be unacceptable, because it shall be of a very capital picture, and one wherein there is an instance of expression which will be supplemental to the chapter in my theory on that head; it is what I have not mentioned there, for I had not seen one of that kind when I wrote that.

The specimen I am now about to give is part of a letter (though in another language) written to a gentle-

gentleman at Rotterdam *, an excellent connoiſſeur, a hearty lover of the art, and maſter of a noble collection of pictures, drawings, and antiques; and one for whom I have upon theſe, and many other accounts the utmoſt reſpect and friendſhip that it is poſſible to have for one whom I have never had the happineſs to ſee, or converſe with, otherwiſe than at this diſtance; though my ſon hath, and has received particular marks of his favour, with a preſent at parting of a fine antique figure in marble, and a drawing of Raphael. The correſpondence we have the honour to have with him is by me, and my ſon jointly, for reaſons not here neceſſary to be given.

——————A friend of ours (Mr. Thornhill, an excellent hiſtory painter) has been in France lately, and has bought ſeveral good pictures, ſome of which are arrived, the principal of theſe is a capital one indeed; we will give you as good an account of it as we can, and of the other when they arrive if they merit it, as we doubt not they will.

This is of N. Pouſſin †, it is 3 foot 3 inches long, and 2 foot 6 inches high, perfectly well preſerved; it was Monſieur . . . . . 's who was ſo ſeverely ſqueezed by the chamber of juſtice that all his goods were ſold, and this picture amongſt the reſt. It is a ſtory of Taſſo's Geruſalemme, cant. 19. which is briefly this:

* Monſ. Flinck, ſince dead.

† This picture, my father's and my good and ancient friend, the late Mr. William Locke, bought at ſir James Thornhill's ſale; and is now in the poſſeſſion of his ſon; whoſe natural fine taſte in theſe arts, improved by his acquaintance with the works of the great maſters abroad, give him a juſt enjoyment of this, as well as the reſt of his elegant collection.

Tancred

Tancred a chriſtian hero, and Argante a pagan giant, retire to a ſolitary place amongſt the mountains to try their fortune in ſingle combat; Argante is ſlain, the other ſo deſperately wounded, that after he had gone a little way he dropped, and fell into a ſwoon. Erminia who was in love with him, and Vafrino his eſquire (by what accident it is too long to tell) found him in this condition, but after the firſt fright, perceiving life in him, his miſtreſs bound up his wounds, and her veil not being ſufficient for that purpoſe, ſhe cut off her fine hair to ſupply that defect, and ſo recovered him, and brought him ſafe to the army.

Pouſſin hath choſen the inſtant of her cutting off her hair; Tancred lies in a graceful attitude, and well contraſted towards one end of the picture, his feet coming about the middle, and at a little diſtance from the bottom; Vafrino is at his head raiſing him up againſt a little bank, on which he ſupports himſelf kneeling on his left knee. Erminia is at his feet, kneeling on the ground with her right knee; beyond her, at a diſtance, lies Argante dead; behind, are the horſes of Erminia, and Vafrino; and toward the top at that end of the picture which is on the left hand as you look upon it, and over the heads of Tancred and Vafrino are two loves with their torches in their hands; the back-ground is compoſed of rocks, trunks of trees with few leaves or branches, and a ſombrous ſky.

The ſtile is a mixture of Pouſſin's uſual manner, and (what is very rare) a great deal of Giulio Romano's, particularly in the head, and attitude of the lady, and both the horſes; Tancred is naked to the waiſt, having been ſtripped by Erminia and his eſquire to ſearch for his wounds; he

he has a piece of looſe drapery which is yellow, bearing upon the red in the middle tincts and ſhadows, this is thrown over his belly and thighs, and lies a good length upon the ground; this doubtleſs painted by the life, and is of a more modern taſte than his generally was. And, that nothing might be ſhocking or diſagreeable, the wounds are much hid, nor is his body or garment ſtained with blood, only ſome appears here and there upon the ground juſt below the drapery, as if it flowed from ſome wounds which that covered; nor is he pale, but as one reviving, and his blood and ſpirits returning to their uſual motion.

The habits are not thoſe of the age in which the ſcene of the fable is laid, theſe muſt have been Gothick, and diſagreeable, it being at the latter end of the eleventh or the beginning of the twelfth century: Ermihia is clad in blue, admirably folded, and in a great ſtile, ſomething like that of Giulio, but more upon the antique, or Raphael; one of her feet is ſeen which is very genteel, and artfully diſpoſed; her ſandal is very particular, for it is a little raiſed under the heel as our children's ſhoes. Vafrino hath a helmet on, with a large bent plate of gold, inſtead of, and ſomething with the turn of a feather. We do not remember any thing like it in the antique; there is no ſuch thing in the column of Trajan, nor that of Antonine (as it is uſually called, though it is now known to be of M. Aurelius) nor (I believe) in the works of Raphael, Giulio, or Polidore, when they have imitated the ancients; though theſe, eſpecially the two former, have taken like liberties; and, departing from the ſimplicity of their great maſters, have in theſe inſtances given a little into the Gothick taſte. This is probably

Pouſſin's

Pouſſin's own invention, and hath ſo fine an effect, that I cannot imagine any thing elſe could poſſibly have been ſo well. This figure is in armour, not with labels, but ſcarlet drapery, where thoſe uſually are in the antique. The two Cupids are admirably well diſpoſed, and enrich and enliven the picture; as do the helmet, ſhield, and armour of Tancred which lie at his feet. The attitudes of the horſes are exceeding fine; one of them turns his head backwards with great ſpirit, the other has his hinder part raiſed, which not only has a noble effect in the picture, but helps to tell what kind of place it was, which was rough and unfrequented.

It is obſervable, that though Taſſo ſays only that Erminia cuts off her hair, Pouſſin was forced to explain what ſhe cut it off withal, and he has given her her lover's ſword. We do not at all queſtion but there will be thoſe who will fancy they have here diſcovered a notorious abſurdity in Pouſſin, it being impoſſible to cut hair with a ſword; but though it be, a pair of ſciſſars inſtead of it, though much the fitter for the purpoſe, had ſpoiled the picture; painting and poetry equally diſdain ſuch low and common things. This is a licence much of the ſame kind with that of Raphael in the carton of the draught of fiſhes, where the boat is by much too little for the figures that are in it; or with the Laocoon who is naked; whereas, being a prieſt in his ſacerdotal office, he muſt have been ſuppoſed to have been clad: But we need not tell you, Sir, why thoſe noble pieces of painting and ſculpture were thus repreſented. This puts me in mind of a fine diſtich of our Dryden:

For he that ſervilely creeps after ſenſe
Is ſafe, but ne'er arrives at excellence.

It will be worth while to obſerve a ſmall circumſtance: One of the horſes is faſtened to a tree; if it were ſuppoſed to be Erminia's, and done by herſelf, it would be an intolerable fault againſt decorum; ſhe muſt have had other thoughts than to ſecure her horſe when ſhe diſmounted; for it was not till Vafrino had found that he whom at firſt ſight they took to be a ſtranger (as well as Argante) was Tancred; and then ſhe is finely deſcribed by Taſſo as flinging herſelf, rather than lighting, from her horſe.

Non ſceſe, nò, precipitò di ſella.

But it may as well be Vafrino's; or if it was her's, perhaps his care was divided betwixt the wounded hero and the lady, to whom it was of conſequence to have her horſe ſecured. It will not be thought partiality to ſuppoſe ſo great a man as Pouſſin would not be guilty of ſuch an overſight as this, taking it in the worſt ſenſe; but it would be unjuſt to determine otherwiſe, when the moſt favourable opinion is alſo the moſt probable; and that being taken, here is a beauty not a fault; it amplifies and raiſes the character of Vafrino, though it would have ſpoiled that of Erminia.

The expreſſion of this picture is excellent throughout. The air of Vafrino is juſt, he hath a character evidently inferior, but nevertheleſs he appears brave, and full of care, tenderneſs and affection. Argante ſeems to be a wretch that died in rage and deſpair, without the leaſt ſpark of piety. Tancred is good, amiable, noble and valiant. There are two circumſtances in Taſſo which finely raiſe theſe two characters. When theſe champions withdrew

drew to fight, it was in the view of the chriſtian ſoldiers, whoſe fury againſt the pagan could hardly be reſtrained: Tancred protected him from them, and as they retired together covered him with his ſhield: Afterwards, when he had him at his mercy, and Tancred would have given him his life, and in a friendly manner approached him with the offer, the villain attempted baſely to murder him, upon which provocation he diſpatched him immediately with ſcorn and fury. Theſe incidents could not be inſerted in the picture; but Pouſſin has told us, by the airs he hath given them, that either were capable of any thing in theſe ſeveral kinds. Erminia muſt appear to have a mixture of hope and fear, joy and ſorrow; this being the time when ſhe had diſcovered life in her lover, after having ſuppoſed him dead; to expreſs this (you know, Sir) muſt be exceeding difficult, and yet abſolutely neceſſary, and that ſtrongly and evidently, that thoſe who look upon the picture may know to what end ſhe cuts off her hair; and that it is not a tranſport of diſtracted grief for the death of him ſhe loved, who is not yet recovered from his ſwoon; becauſe this miſtake would loſe all the beauty of the ſtory. For this reaſon the two loves are admirably contrived to ſerve this purpoſe, beſides the other already mentioned; one of them, and that the fartheſt from the eye, has ſorrow and fear; the other, joy and hope evidently in his face; and to expreſs this yet more perfectly (and this is Mr. Thornhill's obſervation) the former has two arrows in his hand, to denote theſe two paſſions and their pungency; but the quiver of his companion is faſt ſhut up with a ſort of a cap on the top of it. He has alſo a chaplet of jeſſamine on his head.

The compoſition is unexceptionable: There are innumerable inſtances of beautiful contraſts; of this kind are the ſeveral characters of the perſons (all which are excellent in their ſeveral kinds) and the ſeveral habits; Tancred is half naked; Erminia's ſex diſtinguiſheth her from all the reſt; as Vafrino's armour and helmet ſhew him to be inferior to Tancred (his lying by him) and Argante's armour differs from both of them. The various poſitions of the limbs in all the figures are alſo finely contraſted, and, all together, have a lovely effect; nor did I ever ſee a greater harmony, nor more art to produce it, in any picture of what maſter ſoever; whether as to the eaſy gradation from the principal to the ſubordinate parts, the connection of one with another, by the degrees of the lights and ſhadows, and the tincts of the colours.

And theſe too are good throughout; they are not glaring, as the ſubject, and the time of the ſtory (which was after ſun-ſet) requires: Nor is the colouring like that of Titian, Corregio, Rubens, or thoſe fine colouriſts; but it is warm and mellow, it is agreeable, and of a taſte which none but a great man could fall into: And without conſidering it as a ſtory, or the imitation of any thing in nature, the general hue of the colours is a beautiful and delightful object

You know, Sir, the drawing of Pouſſin, as you have yourſelf ſeveral admirable pictures of his hand; this we believe is not inferior to any of him. But there is an overſight or two in the perſpective: The ſword Erminia holds appears by the pomel of it to incline with the point going off, but by the blade it ſeems to be upright; the other is not worth mentioning.

The

The picture is highly finiſhed, even in the parts the moſt inconſiderable; the drawing is firmly pronounced; and ſometimes, chiefly in the faces, hands and feet, it is marked more than ordinarily with the point of the pencil.

And (to ſay all in one word) there is ſuch a grace and greatneſs ſhines throughout, that it is one of the moſt deſirable pictures we have yet ſeen; there is nothing to be wiſhed or imagined which it hath not; nothing to be added or omitted but what would have diminiſhed its excellency; unleſs we have leave to except thoſe little particulars we have remarked, hardly worth mentioning; and whether we are in the right in thoſe is ſubmitted to better judgments. But there are a great many beauties we have not mentioned, and ſome that cannot be expreſſed in words, nor known without ſeeing the picture. And perhaps ſome of both kinds we have not penetration enough yet to obſerve.

It is hard to quit ſo agreeable a ſubject. Let us obſerve for the honour of Pouſſin, and of the art, what a noble and comprehenſive thought! What richneſs and force of imagination! What a fund of ſcience and judgment! What a fine and accurate hand are abſolutely neceſſary to the production of ſuch a work! That two or three ſtrokes of a pencil (for example) as in the face of Argante, can expreſs a character of mind ſo ſtrongly and ſignificantly!

We will only obſerve further the different idea given by the painter and the poet. A reader of Taſſo, who thought leſs finely than Pouſſin, would form in his imagination a picture, but not ſuch a one as this. He would ſee a man of a leſs lovely and beautiful aſpect, pale, and all cut and man-

gled; his body and garments ſmeared with blood; he would ſee Erminia, not ſuch a one as Pouſſin has made her; and a thouſand to one with a pair of ſciſſars in her hand, but certainly not with Tancred's ſword; the two little loves would never enter into his mind; horſes he would ſee, and let them be the fineſt he had ever ſeen, they would be leſs fine than theſe; and ſo of the reſt. The painter hath made a finer ſtory than the poet, tho' his readers were equal to himſelf, but without all compariſon much finer than it can appear to the generality of them. And he has moreover not only known how to make uſe of the advantages this art has over that of his competitor, but in what it is defective in the compariſon he has ſupplied it with ſuch addreſs, that one cannot but rejoice in the defect which occaſioned ſuch a beautiful expedient.

I confeſs we have not always time and opportunity thus to conſider a picture how excellent ſoever it may be: In thoſe caſes, let us not employ that time we have in amuſing ourſelves with the leſs conſiderable incidents, but remark upon the principal beauties, the thought, expreſſion, &c. *

Mr. Thornhill has lately brought from France another picture no leſs worthy a particular diſſertation than the former, as will eaſily be allowed, for it is of Annibale Carracci: Here (as it is for my preſent purpoſe) I will only obſerve in ſhort upon what is moſt remarkable in this ſurprizing picture; which hath not been long out of my mind ſince the firſt moment that I ſaw it.

* Felicem culpam qua talem & tantum meruit habere redemptorem! ſays St. Auſtin ſomewhere, on a much more important ſubject.

The

The ſubject of it is the Virgin, as protectreſs of Bologna: This appears by the proſpect of that city at the bottom of the picture under the clouds on which ſhe is ſeated in glory, encompaſſed with cherubims, boy-angels, and others as uſually deſcribed: But oh! the ſublimity of expreſſion! What dignity and devotion appears in the Virgin! What awful regard! What love! What delight and complacency in theſe angelic beings towards the Mother of the Son of God! The aſpect of the Chriſt is proper to the character he here ſuſtains; he is now only to denote the Virgin, as St. Jerome's lion, St. John's eagle, and the like; he is not here as the ſecond perſon in the trinity; the Virgin is the only principal figure; he is as it were a part of her, whoſe character is alone to be conſidered in this caſe; and accordingly every thing contributes to raiſe it as much as poſſible; and this is done ſurprizingly. But as every thing elſe in the picture is addreſſed towards her, ſhe, in the humbleſt and moſt devout manner, lifts up her eyes towards the inviſible ſupreme being, directing our thoughts thither alſo, with like humble, pious and devout ſentiments. If ſhe, to whom the angels appear ſo vaſtly inferior, is in his preſence but a poor ſuppliant, what an exalted idea muſt this give of him!

Angelic minds the neareſt to thyſelf,
Thoſe who conceive of thee as far beyond
Our low conceptions as the eagle's flight
Tranſcends our utmoſt ſtretch, theſe ſee thee not,
Nor canſt thou be diſcern'd but by thyſelf;
What art thou then as by thyſelf beheld!
Juſt as thou art! unclouded! undiminiſh'd!
In full perfection! O the joy divine!
Ineffable! of that enlightned mind

Where

Where this idea ſhines eternally!
The nobleſt, lovelieſt, and moſt excellent,
Ev'n the mind divine itſelf conceives!

HYMN to GOD. v.

OF THE

KNOWLEDGE OF HANDS.

IN all the works of art there are to be conſidered, the thought and the workmanſhip, or manner of expreſſing or executing that thought. What ideas the artiſt had we can only gueſs at by what we ſee, and conſequently cannot tell how far he has fallen ſhort, or perhaps by accident exceeded them. But the work, like the corporeal and material part of man, is apparent, and to be ſeen to the utmoſt. In the art I am diſcourſing upon, every thing that is done is in purſuance of ſome ideas the maſter hath conceived, whether he can reach with his hand the conceptions of his mind or no; and this is true in every part of painting. As for invention, expreſſion, diſpoſition, and grace and greatneſs, theſe every body muſt ſee direct us plainly to the manner of thinking, to the idea of the painter; but even in drawing, colouring and handling, in theſe alſo are ſeen his manner of thinking upon thoſe ſubjects; one may by theſe gueſs at his ideas of what is in nature, or what was to be wiſhed for or choſen at leaſt. Nevertheleſs, when the idea or manner of thinking in a picture or drawing is oppoſed to the executive part, it is commonly underſtood of theſe four firſt mentioned, as the other three are implied by its oppoſite.

No

No two men in the world think and act alike, nor is it poſſible they ſhould; becauſe men fall into a way of thinking and acting from a chain of cauſes which never is, nor can be the ſame to different men. This difference is notorious, and ſeen by every one with reſpect to what is the object of our ſenſes; and it is as evident to our reaſon as it is that what I have aſſigned as the cauſe of it is the true one. There are two inſtances that are very familiar and well known, and thoſe are our voices and hand-writing; people of the ſame age, the ſame conſtitution, and in ſeveral other particulars in the ſame circumſtances, for ought appears to common obſervation, are yet as eaſily diſtinguiſhed by their voices, as by any other means: And it is wonderful to conſider, that in ſo few circumſtances as what relates to the tone of the voice, there ſhould be (as there is) an infinite variety, ſo as to produce the effect I am ſpeaking of. So in the other caſe, if an hundred boys learn of the ſame maſter, at the ſame time, yet ſuch will be the difference, that their hands ſhall be diſtinguiſhed, even while they are at ſchool, and more eaſily afterwards; and thus it would be if a thouſand or ten thouſand could learn in the ſame manner. They ſee differently, take in different ideas, retain them variouſly, have a different power of hand to form what they conceive.

And as it is in the caſes I have mentioned, ſo it is in all others.

So, therefore, in the works of the painters, and in a degree proportionable to what thoſe works are; in paintings therefore more than in drawings, and in large compoſitions more than in ſingle figures, or other things conſiſting of a few parts. If in forming an A or a B, no two men are exactly alike, neither

ther will they agree in the manner of drawing a finger or a toe, leſs in a whole hand or foot, leſs ſtill in a face, and ſo on.

Not only every maſter differs eſſentially from every other maſter, but he frequently varies, more or leſs, from himſelf; yet generally there will be ſuch a reſemblance, ſuch a ſort of ſameneſs, in the main, as ſhall ſhew them all, to an accurate obſerver, to be of him, whatever variety thoſe manners may have compared with one another.

If there is really a difference, it will be diſcernable if things be attentively conſidered and compared, as is evident from experience in a thouſand inſtances beſides thoſe I have mentioned.

The ſeveral manners of the painters, conſequently their way of thinking and of executing, are to be known, if we have a ſufficient quantity of their works to form our judgments upon.

But though there is a real difference in things, this is in various degrees, and ſo proportionably more or leſs apparent. Thus, ſome of the manners of the painters are as unlike one another as Alcibiades and Therſites; others are leſs remarkably unlike, as the generality of mens faces are; ſome again have a fraternal reſemblance; and there are ſome few which have that which is frequently found in twins where the difference is but juſt diſcernable.

There are ſuch peculiarities in the turn of thought and hand to be ſeen in ſome of the maſters (in ſome of their works eſpecially) that it is the eaſieſt thing in the world to know them at firſt ſight; ſuch as Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo Buonarotti, Giulio Romano, Battiſta Franco, Parmegiano, Paolo Farinati, Cangiagio, Rubens, Caſtiglione, and ſome others; and in the divine Raphael

Raphael one often ſees ſuch a tranſcendent excellence that cannot be found in any other man; and aſſures us this muſt be the hand of him who was, what Shakeſpeare calls Julius Cæſar, "The foremoſt man of all the world."

There are ſeveral who by imitating other maſters, or being of the ſame ſchool, or from whatſoever other cauſe, have had ſuch a reſemblance in their manners as not to be ſo eaſily diſtinguiſhed. Timoteo d' Urbino and Pellegrino da Modena, imitated Raphael; Cæſare da Seſto, Leonardo da Vinci; Schidone, Lanfranco, and others, imitated Corregio: Titian's firſt manner was very like that of Giorgione; Gio. Battiſta Bertano followed his maſter Giulio Romano; the ſons of Baſſano, and thoſe of Paſſerotto, imitated their fathers; Romanino, Andrea Schiavone, and Giovanni Battiſta Zelotti, ſeverally imitated Titian, Parmegiano, and Paulo Veroneſe. Biaggio Bologneſe imitated ſometimes Raphael, and ſometimes Parmegiano. Rubens was imitated by Abraham Janſens, and Vandyke by Long-John in hiſtory, and Guildenaiſel in portraits. Matham followed Giuſſepino; and Ciro Ferri, Pietro da Cortona. There is a great reſemblance of the manner of Michael Angelo in ſome of the works of Andrea del Sarto, greater in the hands of the two Zuccaroes; and greater yet in thoſe of Maturino and Polidore.

The reſt of the maſters are generally of a middle claſs, not ſo eaſily known as the former, nor with ſo much difficulty as the latter.

There is but one way to come to the knowledge of hands; and that is to furniſh our minds with as juſt and compleat ideas of the maſters as we can; and in proportion as we do thus we ſhall be good connoiſſeurs in this particular.

For

For when we judge, who is the author of any picture or drawing, we do the ſame thing as when we ſay, whom ſuch a portrait reſembles; in that caſe we find the picture anſwers to the idea we have laid up in our minds of ſuch a face; ſo here we compare the work under conſideration with the idea we have of the manner of ſuch a maſter, and perceive the ſimilitude.

And as we judge of the reſemblance of a picture by the idea we have of the perſon whether preſent or abſent, (for we cannot ſee both at the ſame inſtant,) juſt ſo we do in the preſent caſe, though we compare that in queſtion with one or more works allowed to be of the ſame maſter, which we have before us at the ſame time.

Theſe ideas of the ſeveral maſters are to be had from hiſtory, and from their works.

The former of theſe give us general ideas of theſe great men as to the turn of their minds, the extent of their capacity; the variations of their ſtyles, how their characters were ſingly, or as compared one with another.

And as the deſcription of a picture is a part of the hiſtory of the maſter; a copy, or a print after ſuch a one may be conſidered as a more exact and perfect deſcription of it than can be given by words; theſe are of great advantage, in giving us an idea of the manner of thinking of that maſter, and this in proportion as ſuch a print or copy happens to be. And there is one advantage which theſe have in this matter, which even the works themſelves have not; and that is, in thoſe commonly their other qualities divert, and divide our attention, and perhaps ſometimes biaſs us in their favour throughout; as, who that ſees the

the vaſtneſs of ſtile, and profound ſkill in deſigning of Michael Angelo; or the fine colouring, and brave pencil of Paulo Veroneſe, can forbear being prejudiced in favour of the extravagance, and indecorum of the one, and the other's neglect of hiſtory, and the antique; whereas in theſe, what one ſees of the manner of thinking of the the maſter one ſees naked, and without danger of being prejudiced by any other excellencies in the work itſelf.

But it is on theſe works themſelves we muſt chiefly and ultimately depend, not only as expoſitors of the hiſtories of the maſters, but as carrying us much further, principally by giving us ideas which no words poſſibly can give, being ſuch for which we have no name, and which cannot be communicated but by the things themſelves.

Hiſtory will inform us of ſome particulars which are neceſſary to be known, and which we could not learn from their works; but with this alone it would be impoſſible to be a connoiſſeur in hands; and, what is worſe, we ſhall be frequently miſled if we truſt too much to the ideas we receive from thence. Hiſtory, whether written or traditional, commonly gives us exalted characters of great men; he of whom the hiſtorian treats is his hero for that time, and it is commonly ſuch a one's intention, not to make a juſt, but a fine picture of them; to which our own prejudices in their favour do not a little contribute. By this means it is natural for us to imagine a work in which we ſee great defects could not be of a hand, of which we have ſo favourable an idea. It is neceſſary therefore to correct this way of thinking, and remember that great men are but men ſtill, and that there

there are degrees, and kinds of excellence of which we may have an idea, but to which the greateſt of men could never arrive; God hath ſaid to every man as to the ocean, "Hitherto ſhalt thou go, "and no farther;" there are certain bounds ſet to the moſt exalted amongſt men, beyond which they are upon the level with the moſt inferor; nor can any man always exert thoſe high qualities he poſſeſſeth, or in equal degrees to what he generally does; a notorious fault, or more than one in a work, nay in a ſingle figure, is conſiſtent with a juſt idea of Raphael himſelf, and that in his beſt time: Raphael indeed could not have made a lame, ill-proportioned figure, or limb; that is, if he had taken care, and did as well as he could; but Raphael might be in haſte, negligent, or forget himſelf; he might be weary, indiſpoſed, or out of humour. Could the inferior maſter, to whom the work is to be attributed upon account of theſe faults, be ſuppoſed capable of doing the reſt? If we had ſeen an intire work of that bad kind, could we have believed the hand that did that have done like the good part of the work in queſtion? It is eaſier to deſcend than to mount: Raphael could more eaſily do like an inferior maſter, in certain inſtances, than ſuch a one could do like Raphael in all the reſt.

And as the ideas we have of men frequently miſlead us in judging from thence of their works, with reſpect to their goodneſs, the ſame happens as to the kinds of them. When one is poſſeſſed of the character of Michael Angelo (for inſtance) as fierce, bold, impetuous, haughty, and even gone beyond great, ſo as to have a mixture of the ſavage; ſublimity itſelf run mad! when one reads

ſuch

ſuch an account of him as this I have * cited below in the note; (and which I was the more inclined to do becauſe it is curious, and gives one a more lively idea of the man than I have found almoſt any where elſe †, and is withal little known) one finds it hard to conceive that ſuch a one drew very neatly, and finiſhed very highly; and conſequently young connoiſſeurs having this idea of this great maſter will not very readily believe ſuch drawings to be of him, and yet it is inconteſtable that he did make ſuch very frequently.

Hiſtory nevertheleſs has it's uſe in giving us ideas of the maſters, in order to judge of their hands, as has been ſeen already in part, and will further appear preſently; but theſe ideas muſt be corrected, regulated, and perfected by the works themſelves.

A picture or drawing hath ſo many particulars relating to it, ſuch as the manner of thinking, ſtile of the compoſition, way of folding the draperies, airs of heads, handling of the pen, chalk, or pencil, colouring, &c. that it is no difficult matter to fix upon ſuch peculiarities of each maſter, in ſome one or more of theſe, as to form

* ——— Je puis dire avoir veu Michel l' Ange, bien qu' agé de plus de ſoixante ans, & encore non de plus robuſtes, abbattre plus d'eſcailles d' un treſ-dur marbre en un quart d' heure, que trois jeunes tailleurs de pierre n'euſſent peu faire en trois ou quatre; choſe preſqu' incroyable à qui ne le verroit; & alloit d' une telle impetuoſité & furie, que je penſois que tout l' ouvrage deuſt aller en peices, abbatant par terre, d' un ſeul coup, de groſs morceaux de trois ou quatre doigts d' eſpaiſſeur, ſi ric à ric de ſa marque, que ſi' l euſt paſſé outre tant ſoit peu plus qu'il ne falloit, il y avoit danger de perdre tout, parceque cela ne ſe peut plus reparer par apres, ny replaſter comme les images d' Argille, ou Stuc.—Annotations de BLAISE de Vigenere ſur le Satyre de Calliſtrate. p. 855.

† See a proof of this, in a figure of a layman in the Gallery of Florentine Pictures in Italy.

a clear and distinct idea of them: if they resemble one another in some things, in others the difference will be more apparent: The colouring of several of the masters of the Venetian school have been like one another, but Titian's majesty of invention, Tintoret's fury, Bassan's rusticity, Paulo Veronese's magnificence, have eminently distinguished them: As do the exquisite genteelness and sweet proportions of Parmegiano; the firmness of the contours and vastness of manner of Michael Angelo, the antique stile carried often to excess of Giulio, the divine airs of the heads, and every virtue under heaven in the works of Raphael. Every one of them have something whereby they are more especially known; and which may be observed by conversing with their works, but cannot be expressed by words.

In forming our ideas of the masters on their works, diligent observation must be made on such of them as have been copied wholly, or in part, from other masters; or are imitations of them. A connoisseur therefore must observe how much is every man's own, and what is not so. Battista Franco (for example) drew from the antique, after Raphael, Michael Angelo, Polidore. You see the same small and most elegant pen throughout, this is always his own, but the manner of thinking cannot be so; nor is the handling always intirely; because he has sometimes imitated that of the master he has copied; as when it is a drawing he hath copied, and not a painting, or the antique, he then often divergeth into the master's manner of handling the pen. These occasional variations must not make a part of our ideas of the masters, unless considered as such.

To

To compleat our ideas of the maſters it is neceſſary to take in their whole lives, and to obſerve their ſeveral variations ſo far as we poſſibly can. It is true, he that knows any one manner of a maſter, may judge well of the works he meets with in that manner, but no farther. And the miſchief is, men are apt to confine their ideas of the maſter to ſo much only as they know, or have conceived of him; ſo that when any thing appears different from this they attribute it to ſome other, or pronounce it not of him; as he who fixes only upon the Roman manner of Raphael will be apt to do by a work of his, before he was called to Rome; or if he builds his ideas only on the beſt works of that great man, he will reject the others, and aſcribe them to ſome other hand, known, or unknown.

There are none of the maſters but muſt have had their firſt, their middle, and their latter times: Generally (though not always) their beginnings have been moderately good, and their latter works (when they have happened to out-live themſelves, and to decay, through age, or infirmities) are like what their bodies then were, they have no more of their former beauty and vigour. If they died early, their latter time was probably the beſt; Michael Angelo, Titian, and Carlo Maratti lived, and painted to a very great age; Raphael

Dropt from the Zenith like a falling ſtar—

Other men by ſlow and eaſy ſteps advance in their improvements: He flew from one degree of excellence to another with ſuch a happy vigour, that every thing he did ſeemed better than what he had done before; and his laſt works, the cartons at Hamp-

ton-Court, and the famous transfiguration are esteemed to be, and undeniably are, his best. His first manner when he came out of the school of his master Pietro Perugino, was like those of that age, stiff, and dry; but he soon mellowed his stile by the strength of his own fine genius, and the sight of the works of other good masters of that time, in and about Florence, chiefly of Lionardo da Vinci; and thus formed a second manner with which he went to Rome. Here he found, or procured whatever might contribute to his improvement; he saw great variety of the precious remains of antiquity, and employed several good hands to design all of that kind in Greece, and elsewhere, as well as in Italy; of which he formed a rare collection; here too he saw the works of Michael Angelo, whose stile may be said to be rather gigantick than great, and which abundantly distinguished him from all the masters of that age *; I know it hath been disputed whether Raphael made any advantage from seeing the works of this great sculptor, architect, and painter; which, though intended as a compliment to him, seems to me to be directly the contrary; he was too wise, and too modest not to make use of, and profit by, whatsoever was worthy of his consideration; and that he did so in this case is evident by a drawing I have of his hand, in which one sees plainly the Michael Angelo taste. Not that he rested here, his noble mind aspired to something beyond this vast genius; and whatever else the world had then to shew †, and he accomplished it, in a stile, in which there is such a judicious mixture of the antique, of the

* See Bellori, descrittione delle imagine, &c. p. 86, &c.

† As the emperor Charles V. stopped not short with Hercules himself, but bravely cried, PLUS ULTRA!

modern

modern taſte, and of nature, together with his own admirable ideas, that the glorious reſult hath created a manner that alone could have been proper and equal to the ſublimity of the works he hath executed. What further views he might have ſtill had, and how much higher he would have carried the art, had the divine providence (who, to the honour of human nature, endued him with ſuch excellent qualities) thought fit to have lent him longer to the world, that divine wiſdom only knows.

Thus Raphael had three ſeveral manners, which are called his Perugino, his Florentine, and his Roman manners; in all which this great genius is evidently ſeen. But having in the two former raiſed himſelf above all the other maſters, the competition afterwards was only between Raphael to day, and Raphael yeſterday.

A great variety is to be found in the works of the ſame men from cauſes as natural as youth, maturity, and old age. Our bodies and minds have their irregular, and, ſeemingly, contingent changes as well as thoſe ſtated and certain ones; ſuch are indiſpoſition or weakneſs, the weather *, the ſeaſon of the year, joy, and gaiety, or grief, heavineſs, or vexation, all theſe, and a thouſand other accidents influence our works, and produce a great variety in them. Sometimes the work itſelf does not pleaſe us as to the kind of it, ſometimes it does not ſucceed as we endeavour it ſhould; this is for thoſe we honour, and deſire to pleaſe, for what reaſons ſoever; this goes on

* Fallor? an & nobis redeunt in carmina vires,
Ingeniumque mihi munere veris adeſt?
Munere veris adeſt, iterumque vigeſcit ab illo.
MILTON.

heavily, being for thoſe who are leſs obliging, or leſs capable of ſeeing, or being touched with what we do for them. Some are done in hopes of conſiderable recompence, others without any ſuch proſpect. Tintoret was particularly remarkable for undertaking all ſorts of buſineſs, and at all prices, and performed accordingly.

The nature of the works itſelf makes another variety in the hands of the maſters. Parmegiano in his drawings appears to be a greater man than one ſees him in his paintings, or etched prints. Polidore upon paper, or in Chairo Scuro is one of the foremoſt in the ſchool of Raphael, but give him colours, and you remove him back many degrees. Battiſta Franco's drawings are exquiſitely fine, his paintings contemptible; even Giulio Romano's pencil in oil has not the tranſcendent merit of his pen in drawings, this has a ſpirit, a beauty and delicacy inimitable, that is comparatively heavy and diſagreeable for the moſt part, for I know of ſome exceptions. The ſubject alſo makes a vaſt difference in the works of theſe great men; Giulio Romano was fitter to paint the birth of the ſon of Saturn, than that of the Son of God; as Michael Angelo was better qualified to paint a Hercules, and Antèus, than the laſt judgment; but Parmegiano and Corregio, who were prodigies in all ſubjects that were lovely and angelical, would have been almoſt upon the level with common men in either of thoſe other; a holy family of Raphael is as the work of an angel of the higheſt order, a ſlaughter of the innocents of him ſeems to be done by one of a lower.

It is no unuſual thing for maſters to go from one manner to another that they like better, whether to imitate ſome other maſters or otherwiſe.

Spagnoletto

Spagnoletto ſet out finely, imitating Corregio with great ſucceſs; this good manner he forſook for that terrible one he is ſo well known by, and in which he continued to the laſt. Giacomo Pontormo, from a good Italian ſtile, fell to imitating Albert Durer; Giacinto Brandi left his firſt Caravaggio-manner, in which he was an excellent maſter, and applied himſelf to its direct oppoſite, that of Guido, in which not ſucceeding, he endeavoured to return to his former way of painting, but could never regain the ground he had loſt. Even Guido himſelf, animus meminiſſe horret! for a time quitted his lovely angel: Airs of heads, enlightened with the gleams of paradiſe, for the debauched and ſavage oppoſitions of fierce lights and darks of Caravaggio, that then corrupted Rome; but he ſoon returned; his native purity purged off the black Tartareous cold infernal dregs. Beſides this, one maſter imitates another occaſionally, and copies their works or their ſtile, at leaſt to try experiments, or to pleaſe themſelves, or thoſe that employ them, or perhaps ſometimes to deceive, or for whatever other reaſons.

In copying, though never ſo ſervilely, there will be ſuch a mixture of the copier as to make what is done a different manner; but it is very apparently ſo when this is done by a maſter who cannot, or will not, ſo ſtrictly confine himſelf. Sometimes ſuch a one copies, as it were, but in part; that is, he takes the thought of another, but keeps to his own manner of executing it: This was frequently done by Raphael after the antique; Parmegiano and Battiſta Franco thus copied Raphael and Michael Angelo; and ſo Rubens copied Raphael, Titian, Pordonone, &c. of which I have many inſtances. In theſe caſes the maſter will be

evidently ſeen; but, being mixed with the idea of other men, this compound work will be very different from one intirely his own.

In drawings one finds a great variety, from their being firſt thoughts (which often are very ſlight, but ſpirituous ſcrabbles) or more advanced or finiſhed. So ſome are executed one way, ſome another; a pen, chalks, waſhes of all colours, heightened with white, wet, or dry, or not heightened at all, but the paper itſelf left to expreſs the lights. All the maſters have had the firſt kind of variety, though ſome more than others. There are few finiſhed works of Titian, Baſſano, Tintoretto, Baccio Bandinelli, Coregio, Annibale Caracci, and others; I mean few in proportion to the number of the drawings which we have of them; which indeed may be ſaid of them all, though of thoſe I have named more particularly; but of Rubens, Giuſeppino, Paolo Farinato, Primaticcio, Michael Angelo, Lionardo da Vinci, many ſuch are ſeen; Biaggio Bologneſe rarely made any other. And of Parmegiano, Battiſta Franco, Pierino del Vaga, Polidore, Giulio Romano, Andrea del Sarto, and even of Raphael himſelf, one frequently ſees finiſhed drawings. As for the latter kind of variety, it is to be found chiefly in Raphael, Polidore, and Parmegiano; whereas Michael Angelo, Baccio Bandinelli, Biaggio Bologneſe, Giulio Romano, Battiſta Franco, Paolo Farinato, Cangiagio, Paſſerotto, and the two Zuccaroes, kept generally to the ſame manner; and ſome of them are inſtantly known by it.

There are inſtances, laſtly, of ſome whoſe manners have been changed by ſome unlucky circumſtances. Poor Annibale Caracci! he ſunk at once! his great ſpirit was ſubdued by the barbarous uſage of

of cardinal Farneſe, who for a work which will be one of the principal ornaments of Rome, ſo long as the palace of that name remains, which coſt that vaſt genius many years inceſſant ſtudy and application; and which he had all poſſible reaſon to hope would have been rewarded in ſuch a manner as to have made him eaſy the remainder of his life: For this work that infamous eccleſiaſtick paid him as if he had been an ordinary mechanick. After this he lived not long, painted but little, and that in no degree equal to what he had done before. It muſt be confeſſed that Annibale made himſelf cheap; and, in truth, other people will not eſteem us more than we ſeem to do ourſelves; if we ſtoop, they will lean upon us; and if we lie down they will tread upon us. An inſtance of the timidity and the utter poor-ſpiritedneſs of this great painter (but this only) and of the ſlight he put on his own works, by laviſhing them to the moſt low and unworthy people, in Malvaſia, p. 465, and in many other places.

Guido Reni, from a prince-like affluence of fortune (the juſt reward of his angelick works) fell to a condition like that of a hired ſervant to one who ſupplied him with money for what he painted at a fixed rate, and that, by his being bewitched with a paſſion for gaming, whereby he loſt vaſt ſums of money, and even what he got in this his ſtate of ſervitude by day, he commonly loſt at night; nor could he ever be cured of this curſed madneſs. Thoſe of his works therefore which he produced in this unhappy part of his life may eaſily be conceived to be in a different ſtile from what he had done before, which in ſome things, that is, in the airs of the heads, had a delicacy in them

them peculiar to himſelf, and almoſt more than human. But I muſt not multiply inſtances. Parmegiano is one that alone takes in all the ſeveral kinds of variation; one ſees, in his drawings, all the ſeveral manners of handling; pen, red chalk, black chalk, waſhing, with and without heightening; on all coloured papers, and in all the degrees of goodneſs, from the indifferent up to the ſublime; I can produce evident proofs of my aſſertion in ſo eaſy a gradation, that one cannot deny but that he who performed that might alſo be the author of this, and very probably was ſo; and thus one may aſcend and deſcend like the angels on Jacob's ladder, whoſe foot was upon the earth, but its head reached to heaven.

And this great man had alſo his unlucky circumſtance; he became mad after the philoſopher's ſtone, and ſmoaked away his whole time that he could have employed ſo glorioufly, and with ſo much profit. Judge what that was, the alteration of ſtile from what he had done, before this devil poſſeſſed him. His creditors endeavoured to exorciſe him, and did him ſome good, for he ſet himſelf to work again in his own way; and with ſucceſs, as Vaſari aſſures; but he lived not long afterwards; and what he painted whilſt his thoughts were upon ſomething elſe, and not only his chemiſtry but his poverty, to which that had brought him, had cramped and turned aſide his genius, could not ſure be equal to thoſe lovely productions that flowed from love of his art, and eaſe in his affairs.

Thus it is evident, that to be good connoiſſeurs in judging of hands we muſt extend our thoughts to all the parts of the lives, and to all the circumſtances of the maſters; to the various kinds and degrees

degrees of goodneſs of their works, and not confine ourſelves to one manner only, and a certain excellency found only in ſome things they have done, upon which ſome have formed their ideas of thoſe extraordinary men, but very narrow and imperfect ones.

Great care muſt be taken as to the genuineneſs of the works on which we form our ideas of the maſters; for abundance of things are attributed to them, chiefly to thoſe that are moſt famous, which they never ſaw.

If two or more conſiderable maſters reſemble each other, the moſt conſiderable uſually fathers the works of them both: A copy, or an imitation of a great man, or even the work of an obſcure hand that has any ſimilitude to his, is preſently of him. Nay, pictures or drawings are frequently chriſtened (as they call it) arbitrarily or ignorantly, as avarice, vanity, or caprice directs. I believe there are few collections without inſtances of theſe miſnamed works, ſome that I have ſeen are notorious for it. Nor do I pretend that my own hath not ſome few on which I would not have the leaſt dependance in forming an idea of the maſters whoſe names they bear. They are as I found them, and may be rightly chriſtened for ought I know; I leave the matter as doubtful, in hopes of future diſcoveries; but a name which I know, or believe to be wrong, I never ſuffer to remain, I either expunge it, and leave the work without any, or give it ſuch as I am aſſured, or have probable arguments to believe is right.

It cannot be denied but that this is a conſiderable diſcouragement to one that is deſirous to be a connoiſſeur, not much unlike that which is apt to perplex well-meaning people when they reflect upon the

the many contrary opinions pretended to be of divine authority. But as in that caſe there are certain fundamental, ſelf-evident, or demonſtrable principles, or ſuch whoſe authority is ſufficiently eſtabliſhed by rational arguments, to which principles a man may always have recourſe; and, by comparing doctrines pretended to be from God with theſe, be able to judge for himſelf of the truth of ſuch pretences: So here there are certain pictures and drawings of ſeveral of the maſters, chiefly of the moſt conſiderable ones, that even an early connoiſſeur will find at his firſt ſetting out, and always meet with in his way, that will ſerve him as ſafe and ſufficient guides in this affair.

Such are thoſe whoſe genuineneſs is abundantly eſtabliſhed by hiſtory, tradition, and univerſal conſent; as the works of Raphael in the Vatican, and at Hampton-Court; thoſe of Coregio in the cupola at Parma; of Annibale Caracci in the Farneſe gallery at Rome; of Vandyke in many families in England, and a great many more of theſe and other maſters all over Europe.

The deſcriptions of works in Vaſari, Cinelli, and other writers, or, ſtill more, the prints extant of them, prove abundance of pictures and drawings to be genuine, ſuppoſing them not to be copies; which their excellency may be as certain a proof of to a good judge of that, and proportionably to one that is leſs advanced in that branch of ſcience.

The general conſent of connoiſſeurs is what I believe will be allowed to be ſufficient to conſtitute a picture or a drawing to be a guide in this caſe.

Many maſters have ſomething ſo remarkable and peculiar, that their manner in general is ſoon known;

known; and the beſt in theſe kinds ſufficiently appear to be genuine, ſo that a young connoiſſeur can be in no doubt concerning them.

Now, though ſome maſters differ exceedingly from themſelves, yet, in all, there is ſomething of the ſame man; as in all the ſtages of our lives there is a general reſemblance; the ſame features are ſeen in our old faces as we had in our youth; when we have fixed a few of the works of the maſters as genuine, theſe will direct us in the diſcovery of others, with greater or leſs degrees of probability, as the ſimilitude betwixt them and thoſe already allowed to be genuine happens to be.

An idea of the moſt conſiderable maſters who have had a great variety in them may be ſoon gotten, as to their moſt common manner and general character; which by ſeeing pictures and drawings, with care and obſervation, will be improved and enlarged perpetually.

And there are ſome maſters who, when you have ſeen two or three of their works, will be known again eaſily, having had but very little variety in the manners, or ſomething ſo peculiar throughout as to diſcover them immediately.

As for obſcure maſters, or thoſe whoſe works are little known, it is impoſſible to have any juſt idea of them, and conſequently to know to whom to attribute a work of their hands when we happen to meet them; but then it is alſo of little importance whether we do or not.

When we are at a loſs, and know not to what hand to attribute a picture or drawing, it is of uſe to conſider of what age and what ſchool it probably is. This will reduce the inquiry into a narrow compaſs, and oftentimes lead us to the maſter we are ſeeking for. So that beſides the hiſtory of the

the particular maſters, which (as hath been ſeen already) is neceſſary to be known by every one who would be a connoiſſeur in hands; the general one of the art, and the characters of the ſeveral ſchools is ſo too. Of the firſt I have occaſionally given ſome few touches throughout the preſent and foregoing part of this work: Of the other I ſhall make light ſketches, referring you for the whole to the accounts at large in the authors who have profeſſedly treated on thoſe ſubjects.

He who would be a good connoiſſeur in hands muſt know how to diſtinguiſh clearly and readily, not only betwixt one object and another, but when two different ones nearly reſemble; for this he will very often have occaſion to do, as it is eaſy to obſerve by what hath been ſaid already. But I ſhall have a further occaſion to enlarge on this particular,

Laſtly, To attain that branch of ſcience of which I have been treating, a particular application to that very ſtudy is requiſite. A man may be a good painter, and a good connoiſſeur as to the merit of a picture or drawing, and may have ſeen all the fine ones in the world, and not know any thing of this matter: It is a ſpeculation intirely diſtinct from all theſe qualifications, and requires a turn of thought accordingly.

OF ORIGINALS AND COPIES.

ALL that is done in picture is done by invention, or from the life, or from another picture; or, laſtly, it is a compoſition of one or more of theſe.

The term picture I here underſtand at large as ſignifying a painting, drawing, engraving, &c.

Perhaps nothing that is done is properly and ſtrictly invention, but derived from ſomething already ſeen, though ſometimes compounded and jumbled into forms which nature never produced; theſe images laid up in our minds are the patterns by which we work when we do what is ſaid to be done by invention; juſt as when we follow nature before our eyes; the only difference being that in the latter caſe, theſe ideas are freſh taken in, and immediately made uſe of, in the other they have been repoſited there, and are leſs clear and lively.

So that is ſaid to be done by the life which is done, the object intended to be repreſented being ſet before us, though we neither follow it intirely, nor intend ſo to do; but add or retrench by the help of preconceived ideas of a beauty and perfection we imagine nature is capable of, though rarely or never found.

We ſay a picture is done by the life as well when the object repreſented is a thing inanimate, as when it is an animal; and the work of art as well as nature; but then for diſtinction the term ſtill-life is made uſe of as occaſion requires.

A copy is the repetition of a work already done when the artiſt endeavours to follow that; as he that

that works by invention, or the life, endeavouring to copy nature, ſeen or conceived, makes an original.

Thus, not only that is an original painting that is done by invention, or the life immediately; but that is ſo too which is done by a drawing or ſketch ſo done; that drawing or ſketch not being ultimately intended to be followed, but uſed only as a help towards the better imitation of nature, whether preſent or abſent.

And though this drawing or ſketch is thus uſed by another hand than that by which it is made, what is ſo done cannot be ſaid to be a copy; the thought indeed is partly borrowed, but the work is original.

For the ſame reaſon if a picture be made after another, and afterwards gone over by invention, or the life, not following that, but endeavouring to improve upon it, it thus becomes an original.

But if a picture or drawing be copied, and the manner of handling be imitated, though with ſome liberty, ſo as not to follow every ſtroke and touch, it ceaſes not to be a copy; as that is truly a tranſlation where the ſenſe is kept, though it be not exactly literal.

If a larger picture be copied though in little, and what was done in oil is imitated with water-colours, or crayons, that firſt picture being only endeavoured to be followed as cloſe as poſſible with thoſe materials, and in thoſe dimenſions; this is to be eſteemed a copy, juſt as if it were done as large, and in the ſame manner as the original.

There are ſome pictures and drawings which are neither copies nor originals, as being partly one, and partly the other. If in a hiſtory, or large compo-

compoſition, or even a ſingle figure, a face or more is inſerted, copied from what has been done from the life, ſuch picture is not intirely original. Neither is that ſo, nor intirely copy, where the whole thought is taken, but the manner of the copier uſed as to the colouring and handling. A copy retouched in ſome places by invention, or the life, is of this equivocal kind. I have ſeveral drawings firſt copied after old maſters (Giulio Romano for example) and then heightened and endeavoured to be improved by Rubens; ſo far as his hand hath gone is therefore original, the reſt remains pure copy. But when he has thus wrought upon original drawings (of which I have alſo many inſtances) the drawing loſes not its firſt denomination, it is an original ſtill, made by two ſeveral maſters.

The ideas of better and worſe are generally attached to the terms original and copy, and this with good reaſon; not only becauſe copies are uſually made by inferior hands, but becauſe tho' he who makes the copy is as good or even a better maſter than he who made the original, whatever may happen rarely and by accident, ordinarily the copy will fall ſhort; our hands cannot reach what our minds have conceived; it is God alone whoſe works anſwer to his ideas. In making an original our ideas are taken from nature, which the works of art cannot equal; when we copy, they are theſe defective works of art from which we take our ideas; theſe are the utmoſt we endeavour to arrive at; and theſe lower ideas too our hands fail of executing perfectly; an original is the echo of the voice of nature, a copy is the echo of that echo. Moreover, though the maſter that copies be equal in general to him whoſe work he follows, yet, in

the particular manner of that maſter he is to imitate, he may not: Vandyke (for example) might have as fine a pencil as Titian; Parmegiano might handle a pen or chalk as well as Raphael; but Vandyke was not ſo excellent in the manner of Titian; nor Parmegiano in that of Raphael, as they themſelves were. Laſtly, in making an original we have a vaſt latitude as to the handling, colouring, drawing, expreſſion, &c. in copying we are confined; conſequently a copy cannot have the freedom and ſpirit of an original; ſo that tho' the maſter who made the original, copies his own work, it cannot be expected it ſhould be as well.

But though it be generally true that a copy is inferior to an original, it may ſo happen that it may be better; as when the copy is done by a much better hand; whether as to his general character, or in ſome particulars, whereby ſome defects may be avoided, and improvements made, though not throughout. An excellent maſter can no more ſink down to the badneſs of ſome works, than the author of ſuch can riſe to the other's excellence. A copy of a very good picture is preferable to an indifferent original; for there the invention is ſeen almoſt intire, and a great deal of the expreſſion and diſpoſition, and many times good hints of the colouring, drawing, and other qualities. An indifferent original hath nothing that is excellent, nothing that touches, which ſuch a copy I am ſpeaking of hath, and this in proportion to its goodneſs as a copy.

When we conſider a picture or a drawing, and the queſtion is, Whether it is a copy or an original? the ſtate of that queſtion will be,

Firſt, In thoſe very terms.

Secondly, Is this of ſuch a hand, or after him?

Thirdly,

Thirdly, Is such a work, seen to be of such a master, originally of him, or a copy after some other?

And, lastly, Is it done by this master from the life, or invention? or copied after some other picture of his own?

In the first of these cases, neither the hand nor the idea is known: In the second, the idea is supposed to be so, but not the hand: In the third, the hand is known, but not the idea: And in the last, both the hand and the idea are known, but not whether it is original or copy.

There are certain arguments made use of in determining upon one, or more of these questions, which are to be rejected: If there are two pictures of the same subject, the same number of figures, the same attitudes, colours, &c. it will by no means follow that one is a copy, unless in the latter sense, just now mentioned; for the masters have frequently repeated their works, either to please themselves or other people, who seeing and liking one, have desired another like it. Some have fancied the great masters made no finished drawings, as not having time or patience sufficient, and therefore pronounce all such to be copies; I will not oppose this false reasoning by something in the same way, though I might; I hate arguments ad hominem, because if I dispute, it is not for victory but truth; but let the drawing have the other good properties of an original, those will be arguments in its favour, which the finishing cannot overthrow, or so much as weaken. Nor will the numbers of drawings which we have here in England, which are attributed to Raphael, or any other master, be any argument not only against the originality of any one of them in par-

ticular (for this for certain it cannot be) no, nor even that ſome of them muſt be copies. That theſe great men * made vaſt numbers of drawings is certain, and oftentimes many for the ſame work; and that they are hardly to be found in Italy is nothing to the purpoſe; the riches of England, Holland, France, and other countries of Europe, may well be ſuppoſed to have drawn away by much the greateſt number of what curioſities could be removed. But I have no inclination to dwell upon ſuch a poor and low way of arguing, and ſo unworthy of a connoiſſeur; let us judge from the things themſelves, and what we ſee and know, and thus only.

I. There are ſome pictures and drawings which are ſeen to be originals, though the hand and manner of thinking are neither of them known, and that by the ſpirit and freedom of them; which ſometimes appears to ſuch a degree, as to aſſure us it is impoſſible they ſhould be copies. But we cannot ſay, on the contrary, when we ſee a tame, heavy handling, that the work is not original merely upon that account, becauſe there have been many bad originals, and ſome good maſters have fallen into a feebleneſs of hand, eſpecially in their old age.

Sometimes there appears ſuch a nature, together with ſo much liberty, that this is a further evidence of the originality of ſuch works.

There is another, and a more maſterly way of judging, and that is, by comparing the unknown hand, and manner of thinking one with another. The invention and diſpoſition of the parts in a

* Witneſs Carlo Maratti, of whom a friend of my father's had ſeen an entire book of three hundred from the head alone of the Antinoüs. See above in his Theory, p. 110.

copy,

copy, and ſome of the expreſſion always remains, and are the ſame as in the original; let theſe be compared with the airs of the heads, the grace and greatneſs, the drawing and handling; if theſe be all of a piece, and ſuch as we can believe all may be the work of the ſame perſon, it is probable that this is an original, at leaſt we cannot pronounce it to be otherwiſe. But if we ſee a wiſe and learned invention, a judicious diſpoſition, but want of harmony; graceful and noble actions, but ill performed; ſilly airs of heads, bad drawing, a low taſte of colouring, and a timorous or heavy hand; this we may be aſſured is a copy, in a degree proportionable to the difference we ſee in the head and hand that contributed to the production of this motley performance.

II. To know whether a picture or drawing be of the hand of ſuch a maſter, or after him, one muſt be ſo well acquainted with the hand of that maſter as to be able to diſtinguiſh what is genuine, from what is not ſo; the beſt counterfeiter of hands cannot do it ſo well as to deceive a good connoiſſeur; the handling, the colouring, the drawing, the airs of heads, ſome, nay all of theſe, diſcover the impoſture; more or leſs eaſily however as the manner of the maſter happens to be; what is highly finiſhed (for example) is more eaſily imitated than what is looſe and free.

It is impoſſible for any one to transform himſelf immediately, and become exactly another man; a hand that hath been always moving in a certain manner, cannot at once, or by a few occaſional eſſays, get into a different kind of motion, and be as perfect at it as he that practiſes it continually: It is the ſame in colouring and drawing; they are as impoſſible to be counterfeited as the handling:

Every man will naturally and unavoidably mix ſomething of himſelf in all he does, if he copies with any degree of liberty: If he attempts to follow his original ſervilely and exactly, that cannot but have a ſtiffneſs which will eaſily diſtinguiſh what is ſo done from what is performed naturally, eaſily, and without reſtraint.

I have perhaps one of the greateſt curioſities of this kind that can be ſeen, becauſe I have both the copy and the original; both are of great maſters; the copier was moreover the diſciple of him he endeavoured to imitate, and had accuſtomed himſelf to do ſo, for I have ſeveral inſtances of this, which I am very certain of, though I have not ſeen the originals. Michael Angelo made that I am now ſpeaking of, and which I joyfully purchaſed lately of one who had juſt brought it from abroad; it is a drawing with a pen upon a large half ſheet, and conſiſts of three ſtanding figures: The copy is of Battiſta Franco, and which I have had ſeveral years, and always judged it to be what I now find it is. It is an amazing thing to ſee how exactly the meaſures are followed, for it does not appear to have been done by any other help than the correctneſs of the eye; if it had been traced off, or meaſured throughout, it is as ſtrange that the liberty ſhould be preſerved that is ſeen in it; Battiſta has alſo been exact in following every ſtroke, even what is purely accidental, and without any meaning; ſo that one would think he endeavoured to make as juſt a copy as poſſible, both as to the freedom and exactneſs. But himſelf is ſeen throughout moſt apparently: As great a maſter as he was, he could no more counterfeit the vigorous, blunt pen of Michael Angelo, and that terrible

terrible fire that is always ſeen in him, than he could have managed the club of Hercules.

I am well aware of the objection that will be made to what I am ſaying, founded upon the inſtances of copies that have deceived very good painters who judged them to be of the hands they were only counterfeits of, and even when theſe hands have been their own: To which I anſwer,

Firſt, A man may be a very good painter and not a good connoiſſeur in this particular. To know and diſtinguiſh hands, and to be able to make a good picture, are very different qualifications, and require a very different turn of thought, and both a particular application.

Secondly, It is probable thoſe that have been thus miſtaken have been too precipitate in giving their judgments; and not having any doubt upon the matter have pronounced without much examination.

Laſtly, Admitting it to be true, that there have been inſtances of copies of this kind not poſſible to be detected by the ableſt connoiſſeurs (which however I do not believe) yet this muſt needs happen ſo very rarely that the general rule will however ſubſiſt.

III. The next queſtion to be ſpoken to, is, Whether a work ſeen to be of ſuch a maſter is originally of him, or a copy after ſome other?

And here the firſt enquiry will be, Whether as we ſee the hand of ſuch maſter in the picture, or drawing before us, his idea is alſo in it: And if it be judged, the thought is not originally of him, we muſt further enquire, whether he who did the work under conſideration endeavoured to follow that other maſter as well as he could, ſo as to make what he did, properly, a copy; or took

ſuch a liberty as that his work thereby becomes an original.

This mixture, the hand of one, and the idea of another, is very frequently ſeen in the works of ſome of the greateſt maſters. Raphael hath much of the antique in his, not only imitations, but copies. Parmegiano, and Battiſta Franco drew after Raphael, and Michael Angelo; and the latter made abundance of drawings from the antique, having had an intention to etch a book of that kind. Rubens drew very much from other maſters, eſpecially from Raphael; almoſt all that Biaggio Bologneſe did was borrowed from Raphael, or Parmegiano, or imitations of their way of thinking. But this mixture is rarely, or never ſeen in Leonardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Corregio, and others: Giulio Romano, and much more Polidore, had ſo imbibed the taſte of the ancients, as to think much in their way, though eaſily to be diſtinguiſhed however. It would be too tedious to be more particular; thoſe who acquaint themſelves thoroughly with the works of theſe great men will furniſh themſelves with obſervations of this kind ſufficient for their purpoſe: And this he who would judge in the preſent caſe muſt do; for it is obvious, the only way to know whether the ideas and the hand are of the ſame maſter, is, by being thoroughly verſed in the hands and ideas of the maſters. And then to know, whether the work ought to be conſidered as an original or not, he muſt clearly conceive what are the juſt definitions of a copy, and an original, as diſtinguiſhed from each other.

IV. Copies made by a maſter after his own work are diſcoverable by being well acquainted with what that maſter did when he followed nature;

ture; theſe ſhall have a ſpirit, a freedom, a naturalneſs which even he himſelf cannot put into what he copies from his own work; as hath been noted already.

As for prints, though what I have been ſaying not only in the preſent, but precedent chapters, is for the moſt part applicable to them as well as to pictures and drawings, (which I have all along had almoſt wholly in my mind,) yet there being ſomething peculiar to theſe I have choſe to reſerve what I had to ſay concerning them in particular to this place.

Prints, whether engraved in metal or wood, etched or in mezzotinto, are a ſort of works done in ſuch a manner as is not ſo proper as that whereby paintings or drawings are performed; it not being poſſible by this to make any thing ſo excellent as in the others. But this way of working is choſen upon other accounts, ſuch as that thereby great numbers are produced inſtead of one, ſo that the thing comes into many hands; and that at an eaſy price.

Of prints there are two kinds; ſuch as are done by the maſters themſelves whoſe invention the work is; and ſuch as are done by men not pretending to invent, but only to copy (in their ſeveral ways) other mens works.

The latter ſort of prints are always profeſſed copies, with reſpect to the invention, compoſition, manner of deſigning, grace and greatneſs. But theſe prints may be alſo copied, as they frequently are; and, to know what are ſo, and what are originals, is by being well acquainted with the hands of the engraver or etcher, who in this reſpect are the maſters, as the painter from whom they copied were to them.

The

The former ſort may again be ſubdivided into three kinds. 1. Thoſe they have done after a painting of their own. 2. Thoſe done after a drawing alſo done by themſelves; or, laſtly, what is deſigned upon the plate, which hath been ſometimes done, eſpecially in etching. The firſt of theſe are copies after their own works; and ſo may the ſecond, or they may not, according as the drawing they have made previouſly to it happens to be; but both are ſo but in part; what is thus done being a different way of working. But if it be deſigned on the plate, it is a kind of drawing (as the others are) though in a manner different from the reſt, and is purely and properly original.

And the hands of the maſters are to be known in this way as in all others, and ſo what are genuine, and what are copies, and how far.

The excellence of a print, as of a drawing, conſiſts not particularly in the handling; this is but one, and even one of the leaſt conſiderable parts of it: It is the invention, the grace and greatneſs, and thoſe principal parts that in the firſt place are to be regarded. There is better engraving, a finer burin in many worthleſs prints than in thoſe of Marc Antonio, but thoſe of this laſt that come after Raphael are generally more eſteemed than even thoſe which are engraved by the maſters themſelves; though the expreſſion, the grace and greatneſs, and other properties wherein that inimitable man ſo much excelled all mankind, appear to be but faintly marked if compared with what Raphael himſelf hath done; yet even that ſhadow of him hath beauties that touch the ſoul beyond what the beſt original works of moſt of the other maſters, though very conſiderable ones, can do: And this muſt be ſaid too, that though Marc Antonio's

Antonio's engravings come far ſhort of what Raphael himſelf did, all others that have made prints after Raphael come vaſtly ſhort of him, becauſe he has better imitated what is moſt excellent in that beloved, wonderful man than any other has done.

The prints etched by the maſters themſelves; ſuch as thoſe of Parmegiano, Annibale Caracci, and Guido Reni, (who are the chief of thoſe of whom we have works of this kind) are conſiderable upon the ſame account; not for the handling, but the ſpirit, the expreſſion, the drawing, and other the moſt excellent properties of a picture or drawing; though, by the nature of the work, they are not equal to what theſe ſame maſters have executed with their pencil, chalk, or pen.

And it is further to be obſerved, that as prints cannot be ſo good as drawings, they abate in the goodneſs they have by the wearing of the plates; they thus become to have leſs beauty, leſs ſpirit, the expreſſion hath leſs energy, the airs of the heads are tamer, and the whole is the worſe in proportion as the plate is worn: unleſs it be too hard at firſt, and then thoſe prints are the better that are taken after that hardneſs is ſomething worn off.

It were much to be wiſhed that all who have applied themſelves to the copying of other mens works by prints (of what kind ſoever) had more ſtudied to become maſters in thoſe branches of ſcience which are neceſſary to a painter (except what are peculiar to them as ſuch) than they have generally done; their works would then have been much more deſirable than they are. Some few indeed have done this, and their prints are eſteemed accordingly.

To conclude; it must be observed to the advantage of prints as compared with drawings; though they are by no means equal to them upon other accounts (as has been already noted) they are usually done from the finished works of the masters, and so are their last, their utmost thoughts on the subject, whatever it be. So much for prints.

There is one qualification absolutely necessary to him that would know hands, and distinguish copies from originals; as it also is so to him who would judge well of the goodness of a picture or drawing, or indeed of any thing else whatsoever, and with which therefore I will finish this discourse; and that is, he must accustom himself to take in, retain, and manage clear and distinct ideas.

To be able to distinguish betwixt two things of a different species (especially if those are very much unlike) is what the most stupid creature is capable of, as to say this is an oak, and that a willow; but to come into a forest of a thousand oaks, and to know how to distinguish any one leaf of all those trees from any other whatsoever, and to form so clear an idea of that one, and to retain it so clean as (if occasion be) to know it so long as its characteristicks remain, requires better faculties than every one is master of; and yet this may certainly be done. To see the difference between a fine metaphysical notion, and a dull jest; or between a demonstration, and an argument but just probable; these are things which he who cannot do is rather a brute, than a rational creature; but to discern wherein the difference consists when two notions very nearly resemble each other, but are not the same; or to see the just weight of an argument, and that through all its

its artificial diſguiſes; to do this it is neceſſary to conceive, diſtinguiſh, methodize, and compare ideas in a manner that few of all thoſe multitudes that pretend to reaſoning have accuſtomed themſelves to. But thus to ſee, thus nicely to diſtinguiſh things nearly reſembling one another, whether viſible, or immaterial, is the buſineſs of a connoiſſeur. It is for want of this diſtinguiſhing faculty that ſome whom I have known, and from whom one might reaſonably have expected better, have blundered as groſsly as if they had miſtaken a Coregio for a Rembrandt; or (to ſpeak more intelligibly to thoſe who are not well acquainted with theſe things) an apple, for an oyſter: But leſſer miſtakes have been made perpetually, when the difference between the two manners, that which we ſaw before us, and that which it was judged to be, whether as to the maſter's way of thinking, or of executing his thoughts, was nevertheleſs very eaſily diſcernible.

It is as neceſſary to a connoiſſeur as to a philoſopher or divine, to be a nice logician; the ſame faculties are employed, and in the ſame manner, the difference is only in the ſubject.

1. He muſt never undertake to make any judgment without having in his mind certain determined ideas, he muſt not think, or talk at random, and when he is not clear in the thing; as thoſe gentlemen Mr. Locke ſpeaks of ſomewhere, who were diſputing warmly upon a certain liquor in the body, and might probably never have come to any concluſion if he had not put them upon ſettling the meaning of that term liquor; they talked all the while in the clouds.

2. A good connoiſſeur will take care not to confound things in which there is a real difference, becauſe

becauſe of the reſemblance they may ſeem to have. This he has perpetual occaſion to be upon his guard againſt, for many times the hands and manners of different maſters very nearly reſemble each other.

3. He muſt not make a difference where there is none, and ſo attribute thoſe works to two ſeveral maſters which were both done by the ſame hand.

4. A connoiſſeur having fixed his ideas ſhould keep cloſe to them, and not flutter about in confuſion from one to another.

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ON THE

DIGNITY, CERTAINTY,

PLEASURE AND ADVANTAGE,

OF THE

SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

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DISCOURSE

ON THE

SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR.

IT is remarkable, that in a country as ours, rich and abounding with gentlemen of a juſt and delicate taſte in muſick, poetry, and all kinds of literature; ſuch fine writers! ſuch ſolid reaſoners! ſuch able ſtateſmen! gallant ſoldiers! excellent divines, lawyers, phyſicians, mathematicians, and mechanicks! and yet ſo few, ſo very few lovers and connoiſſeurs in painting!

In moſt of theſe particulars there is no nation under heaven which we do not excel; in ſome of the principal, moſt of them are barbarous compared with us; ſince the beſt times of the ancient Greeks and Romans, when this art was in its greateſt eſteem and perfection, ſuch a national magnanimity as ſeems to be the characteriſtic of our nation has been loſt in the world; and yet the love and knowledge of painting, and what has relation to it, bears no proportion to what is to be found, not only in Italy, where they are all lovers, and almoſt all connoiſſeurs, but in France, Holland, and Flanders.

Every event in the natural and moral world hath its cauſes, which are cauſed by other cauſes, and ſo on up to the firſt cauſe, the immutable and unerring will, without which not ſo inconſiderable an accident (as it will be called) as the falling of a ſparrow, or the change of the colour of a ſingle hair, can happen; ſo that there is nothing ſtrange: What is commonly the ſubject of admiration is ſo for no other reaſon but that we do not ſee its cauſes, nor remember it muſt needs have had ſuch, and which muſt as infallibly operate in that manner as thoſe we ſee, and which are moſt ordinary and familiar to us. That ſo few here in England have conſidered that

that to be a good connoiſſeur is fit to be part of the education of a gentleman, that there are ſo few lovers of painting; not merely for furniture, or for oſtentation, or as it repreſents their friends or themſelves; but as it is an art capable of entertaining and adorning their minds as much as, nay perhaps more, than any other whatſoever; this event alſo has its cauſes; to remove which, and conſequently their effects, and to procure the contrary good, is what I am about to endeavour, and hope in ſome meaſure to accompliſh.

Nor is this a trivial undertaking; I have already been giving the principles of it, and here I recommend a new ſcience to the world, or one at leaſt little known, or conſidered as ſuch: So new, or ſo little known, that it is yet without a name; it may have one in time; till then I muſt be excuſed when I call it, as I do, THE SCIENCE OF A CONNOISSEUR, for want of a better way of expreſſing myſelf: I open to gentlemen a new ſcene of pleaſure, a new innocent amuſement, and an accompliſhment which they have yet ſcarce heard of, but no leſs worthy of their attention than moſt of thoſe they have been accuſtomed to acquire. I offer to my country a ſcheme by which its reputation, riches, virtue and power may be increaſed. And this I will endeavour

to do, not as an orator, or as an advocate, but as a ſtrict reaſoner; and ſo as I am verily perſuaded will be to the conviction of every one that will impartially attend to the argument, and not be prejudiced by the novelty of it, or their own former ſentiments.

My preſent buſineſs then in ſhort is, to endeavour to perſuade our nobility and gentry to become lovers of painting and connoiſſeurs; which I ſhall attempt to do, by ſhewing the dignity, certainty, pleaſure and advantage of that ſcience.

One of the principal cauſes of the general neglect of the ſcience I am treating of, I take to be, that very few gentlemen have a juſt idea of painting; it is commonly taken to be an art whereby nature is to be repreſented; a fine piece of workmanſhip, and difficult to be performed, but produces only pleaſant ornaments, mere ſuperfluities.

This being all they expect from it, no wonder they look no farther; and, not having applied themſelves to things of this nature, overlook beauties which they do not expect to find; ſo that many an excellent picture is paſſed over and diſregarded, and an indifferent or a bad one admired, and this upon low and even

even trivial conſiderations; from whence ariſes naturally an indifference, if not a contempt for the art, at beſt a degree of eſteem not very conſiderable; eſpecially ſince there are (comparatively) ſo few pictures in which are to be found either nature cloſely repreſented, or beauty, or even fine workmanſhip.

Though I have already in the beginning of the Theory of Painting, and indeed throughout this work, endeavoured to give the world a juſt idea of the art, I will in this place more particularly attempt it, as being very pertinent to my preſent deſign; and perhaps it may be ſome advantage (as we find it is to pictures) to place it in ſeveral lights.

Painting is indeed a difficult art, productive of curious pieces of workmanſhip, and greatly ornamental; and its buſineſs is to repreſent nature. Thus far the common idea is juſt; only that it is more difficult, more curious, and more beautiful, than is commonly imagined.

It is an entertaining thing to the mind of man to ſee a fine piece of art in any kind; and every one is apt to take a ſort of pride in it as being done by one of his own ſpecies, to whom, with reſpect to the univerſe, he

ſtands related as to one of the ſame country, or the ſame family. Painting affords us a great variety of this kind of pleaſure in the delicate or bold management of the pencil; in the mixture of its colours, in the ſkilful contrivance of the ſeveral parts of the picture, and infinite variety of the tincts, ſo as to produce beauty and harmony. This alone gives great pleaſure * to thoſe who have learned to ſee theſe things. To ſee nature juſtly repreſented is very delightful; it gives us pleaſing ideas, and perpetuates and renews them; pleaſing, whether by their novelty or variety, or by the conſideration of † our own eaſe and ſafety, when we ſee what is terrible in themſelves, as ſtorms and tempeſts, battles, murders, robberies; or elſe when the ſubject is fruit, flowers, landſcapes, buildings, hiſtories; and, above all, ourſelves, relations, or friends.

Thus far the common idea of painting goes; and this would be enough if theſe beauties were ſeen and conſidered as they are to be found

* Nos etiam eruditos habemus oculos.—CIC. ad ATTIC.

† Suave mari magno turbantibus aquora ventis
E terra magnum alterius ſpectare laborem;
Non quia vexari quenquam eſt jocunda voluptas,
Sed quibus ipſe malis careas quia cernere ſuave eſt.
LUCRET.

in

in the works of the beſt maſters, whether in paintings or drawings, to recommend the art. But this is ſuch an idea of it as it would be of a man to ſay, he has a graceful and noble form, and performs many bodily actions with great ſtrength and agility, without taking his ſpeech and his reaſon into the account.

The great and chief ends of painting are to raiſe and improve nature; and to communicate ideas; not only thoſe which we may receive otherwiſe, but ſuch as without this art could not poſſibly be communicated; whereby mankind is advanced higher in the rational ſtate, and made better; and that in a way eaſy, expeditious, and delightful.

The buſineſs of painting is not only to repreſent nature, and to make the beſt choice of it, but to raiſe and improve it from what is commonly or even rarely ſeen, to what never was, or will be in fact, though we may eaſily conceive it might be. As in a good portrait, from whence we conceive a better opinion of the beauty, good ſenſe, breeding, and other good qualities of the perſon than from ſeeing themſelves, and yet without being able to ſay in what particular it is unlike; for nature muſt be ever in view,

Unerring nature ſtill divinely bright,
One clear, unchang'd, and univerſal light;
Life, force, and beauty muſt to all impart,
At once the ſource, and end, and teſt of art;
That art is beſt which moſt reſembles her,
Which ſtill preſides, yet never does appear.
POPE's Eſſay on Criticiſm.

I believe there never was ſuch a race of men upon the face of the earth, never did men look and act like thoſe we ſee repreſented in the works of Raphael, Michael Angelo, Coregio, Parmegiano, and others of the beſt maſters, yet nature appears throughout; we rarely or never ſee ſuch landſcapes as thoſe of Titian, Annibale Carracci, Salvator Roſa, Claude Lorrain, Jaſper Pouſſin, and Rubens. Such buildings and magnificence as in the pictures of Paulo Veroneſe; but yet there is nothing but what we can believe may be. Our ideas even of fruits, flowers, inſects, draperies, and indeed of all viſible things, and of ſome that are inviſible, or creatures of the imagination, are raiſed and improved in the hands of a good painter; and the mind is thereby filled with the nobleſt, and therefore the moſt delightful images. The deſcription of one in an advertiſement of a news-paper is nature, ſo is a character by my Lord Clarendon, but they are nature very differently repreſented.

I own

I own there are beauties in nature which we cannot reach; chiefly in colours, together with a certain ſpirit, vivacity, and lightneſs; motion alone is a vaſt advantage; it occaſions a great degree of beauty purely from that inſtant variety it produceth; ſo that what I have ſaid elſewhere is true, it is impoſſible to reach nature by art; but this is not inconſiſtent with what I have been ſaying juſt now; both are true in different ſenſes. Some things in nature are immutable; others art can improve upon, and thoſe very conſiderable ones.

When I ſay nature is to be raiſed and improved by painting, it muſt be underſtood that the actions of men muſt be repreſented better than probably they really were, as well as that their perſons muſt appear to be nobler, and more beautiful than is ordinarily ſeen. In treating a hiſtory, a painter has other rules to go by than a hiſtorian, whereby he is as much obliged to embelliſh his ſubject, as the other is to relate it juſtly; for painting is poetry.

Not only ſuch ideas are conveyed to us by the help of this art as merely give us pleaſure, but ſuch as enlighten the underſtanding, and put the ſoul in motion. From hence are learned the forms and properties of things and perſons; we are thus informed of paſt events; by this means

means joy, grief, hope, fear, love, averſion, and the other paſſions, and affections of the ſoul are excited, and above all we are not only thus inſtructed, greatly inſtructed may be, and this with equal delight; other means of inſtruction are often rude and offenſive; this, whilſt it informs, poliſheth the mind.

Painting is another ſort of writing, and is ſubſervient to the ſame ends as that of her younger ſiſter; that by characters can communicate ſome ideas which the hieroglyphic kind cannot, as this, in other reſpects, ſupplies its defects.

And the ideas thus conveyed to us have this advantage, they come not by a ſlow progreſſion of words, or in a language peculiar to one nation only; but with ſuch a velocity, and in a manner ſo univerſally underſtood, that it is ſomething like intuition, or inſpiration; as the art by which it is effected reſembles creation; things ſo conſiderable, and of ſo great a price, being produced out of materials ſo inconſiderable, of a value next to nothing!

What a tedious thing would it be to deſcribe by words the view of a country (that from Greenwich-hill for inſtance) and how imperfect an idea muſt we receive from thence! Painting

ſhews

ſhews the thing immediately and exactly. No words can give you a ſatisfactory idea of the face and perſon of one you have never ſeen; Painting does it effectually; with the addition of ſo much of his character as can be known from thence; and moreover in an inſtant recalls to your memory, at leaſt the moſt conſiderable particulars of what you have heard concerning him, or occaſions that to be told which you have never heard.

* " Agoſtino Carracci, diſcourſing one day " of the excellency of the ancient ſculpture, " was profuſe in his praiſes of the Laocoon, " and obſerving his brother Annibale neither " ſpoke, nor ſeemed to take any notice of what " he ſaid, reproached him as not enough eſteem- " ing ſo ſtupendous a work: He then went on " deſcribing every particular in that noble re- " main of antiquity. Annibale turned himſelf " to the wall, and with a piece of charcoal " drew the ſtatue as exactly as if it had been " before him; the reſt of the company were " ſurprized, and Agoſtino was ſilenced; con- " feſſing his brother had taken a more effectual " way to demonſtrate the beauties of that won- " derful piece of ſculpture; li poeti dipingono " con le parole, li pittori parlano con l'opere, " ſaid Annibale."

* Bellori's life of Annibale Carracci.

When

When Marius, being driven from Rome by Sylla, was priſoner at Minturnæ, and a ſoldier was ſent to murther him, upon his coming into the room with his ſword drawn for that purpoſe, Marius ſaid aloud Σὺ ἦ τολμᾷς ἄνθρωπε Γάϊον Μάριον ἀναιρεῖν! Dareſt thou, man, kill Caius Marius! which ſo terrified the ruffian, that he retired without being able to effect what he came about. This ſtory, and all that Plutarch has wrote concerning him, gives me not a greater idea of him than one glance of the eye upon his ſtatue that I have ſeen; it is in the noble collection of antiques at my lord Lemſter's ſeat, at Torceſter in Northamptonſhire. The Odyſſey cannot give me a greater idea of Ulyſſes than a drawing I have of Polidore, where he is diſcovering himſelf to Penelope and Telemachus by bending the bow. And I conceive as highly of St. Paul, by once walking through the gallery of Raphael at Hampton Court, as by reading the whole book of the Acts of the Apoſtles *, though written by divine inſpiration. So that not only painting furniſhes us with ideas, but it carries that matter farther than any other way whatſoever.

* Segnius irritant animos demiſſa per aurem
Quam quæ ſunt oculis ſubjecta fidelibus, & quæ
Ipſe ſibi tradit ſpectator. HOR. A. P.

The

The buſineſs of hiſtory is a plain and juſt relation of facts; it is to be an exact picture of human nature.

Poetry is not thus confined, but, provided natural truth is at the bottom, nature muſt be heightened and improved, and the imagination filled with finer images than the eye commonly ſees, or in ſome caſes ever can; whereby the paſſions are more ſtrongly touched, and with a greater degree of pleaſure than by plain hiſtory.

When painters are to be rallied upon account of the liberties they take of inventing, Horace's Pictoribus atque Poetis never fails. Let them own the charge; but then the parallel muſt be underſtood to conſiſt in ſuch a departure from truth as is probable, and ſuch as pleaſes and improves, but deceives nobody.

The poets have peopled the air, earth, and water with angels, flying boys, nymphs and ſatyrs; they have imagined what is done in heaven, earth, and hell, as well as on this globe, and which could never be known hiſtorically; their very language, as well as their meaſures and rhimes, muſt be above what is in common uſe. The opera has carried this matter

ſtill

ſtill farther, but ſo far as that; being beyond probability, it touches not as tragedy does; it ceaſes to be poetry, and ſometimes degenerates into mere ſhew and ſound; if the paſſions are affected, it is from thence, though the words were not only heard diſtinctly, but underſtood. By the way, let it be placed in this light; let the opera be conſidered as ſhew and muſick, one of the inſtruments being a human voice, the common objection to its being in an unknown tongue falls to the ground.

As the poets, ſo the painters have ſtored our imaginations with beings and actions that never were; they have given us the fineſt natural and hiſtorical images, and this, for the ſame end, to pleaſe, whilſt they inſtruct and make men better. I am not diſpoſed to carry on the parallel, by deſcending to particulars, nor is it my preſent buſineſs: Mr. Dryden hath * done it, though it were to be wiſhed he had been in leſs haſte, and had underſtood painting better when his fine pen was ſo employed.

Sculpture carries us yet farther than poetry, and gives us ideas that no words can give; ſuch forms of things, ſuch airs of heads, ſuch ex-

* In his Preface to Freſnoy's Poem de Arte Graphicâ.

expreſ-

preſſions of the paſſions as cannot be deſcribed by language.

It hath been much diſputed, which is the moſt excellent of the two arts, ſculpture or painting; and there is a ſtory of its having been left to the determination of a blind man, who gave it in favour of the latter, being told that what by feeling ſeemed to him to be flat, appeared to the eye as round as its competitor. I am not ſatisfied with this way of deciding the controverſy. For it is not the difficulty of an art that makes it preferable, but the ends propoſed to be ſerved by it, and the degree in which it does that, and then the leſs difficulty the better.

Now the great ends of both theſe arts is to give pleaſure, and to convey ideas, and that of the two which beſt anſwers thoſe ends is undoubtedly preferable; and that this is painting is evident, ſince it gives us as great a degree of pleaſure, and all the idea that ſculpture can, with the addition of others; and this not only by the help of her colours; but becauſe ſhe can expreſs many things which marble, braſs, or other materials of that art cannot, or are not ſo proper for. A ſtatue indeed is ſeen all round, and this is one great advantage which is alledged in favour of ſculpture, but without reaſon: If the figure is ſeen on every ſide, it is alſo wrought

on

on every ſide, it is then to be conſidered as ſo many ſeveral pictures; and a hundred views of a figure may be painted in the time that that figure is cut in marble, or caſt in braſs.

As the buſineſs of painting is to raiſe and improve nature, it anſwers to poetry; (though upon occaſion it can alſo be ſtrictly hiſtorical) and as it ſerves to the other more noble end, this hieroglyphic language completes what words or writing began, and ſculpture carried on, and thus perfects all that human nature is capable of in the communication of ideas, till we arrive at a more angelical and ſpiritual ſtate in another world.

I believe it will not be unacceptable to my readers, if I illuſtrate what I have been ſaying by examples, and the rather becauſe they are very curious, and very little known.

Vallani * in his Florentine hiſtory ſays, that in the year 1288, there were great diviſions in the city of Piſa, for the ſovereignty; one of the parties was headed by the judge Nino di Gallura de 'Viſconti; the chief of another party was count Ugolino de 'Gherardeſchi; and the archbiſhop Ruggieri of the family of the

* Lib. VI. c. 120, 127.

Ubaldini

Ubaldini was at the head of the third party, in which were alſo the Lanfranchi, the Sigiſmondi, the Gualandi, and others; the two firſt of theſe parties were Guelfs, the other Ghibellines, (factions that at that time, and for many years before, and after, made diſmal havock in Italy.) Count Ugolino, to get the power into his own hands, caballed ſecretly with the archbiſhop to ruin the judge, who never ſuſpected that, he being a Guelf as the count was, and moreover his near relation; however the thing was effected; the judge and his followers were driven out of Piſa, and thereupon went to the Florentines, and ſtired them up to make war upon the Piſans; theſe in the mean time ſubmitted themſelves to the count, who thus became lord of Piſa. But the number of the Guelfs being diminiſhed by the departure of the judge and his followers; and that faction growing daily weaker and weaker, the archbiſhop laid hold of the opportunity, and betrayed the victor in his turn; he put it into the heads of the populace, that the count intended to give up their caſtles to their enemies the Florentines and Luccheſes: This was eaſily ſwallowed; the mob ſuddenly roſe, and ran with great fury to the palace, which they ſoon gained with little loſs of blood; their new ſovereign they clapt up in a priſon, to-

gether with his two ſons, and two grandſons; and drove all the reſt of his family and followers, and in general all the Guelfs out of the city. A few months after this the Piſans being become deeply engaged in the inteſtine war of the Guelfs and Ghibellines, and having choſe count Guido de Montifeltro for their general, the pope excommunicated them and him, and all his family; this incenſed them the more againſt count Ugolino, ſo that having ſeen the gates of the priſon well ſecured, they flung the keys into the river Arno, to the end that none might relieve him and his children with food; who therefore in a few days periſhed by famine. This farther circumſtance of cruelty was exerciſed on the count; he was denied either prieſt or monk to confeſs him, though he begged it of his enemies with bitter cries.

The poet carries this ſtory farther than the hiſtorian could, by relating what paſſed in the priſon. This is Dante, who was a young man when this happened, and was ruined by the commotions of theſe times. He was of Florence, which city after having been long divided by the Guelf and Ghibelline factions, at laſt became intirely Guelf; but this party then ſplit into ohers under the names of the Bianchi and the Neri, the latter of which prevailing, plundered, and baniſhed Dante; not becauſe

cauſe he was of the contrary party, but for being neuter, and a friend to his country.

When virtue fails, and party-heats endure,
The poſt of honour is the leaſt ſecure.

This great man (in the 33d canto of the 1ſt part of his Comedia) in his paſſage through hell, introduces count Ugolino gnawing the head of this treacherous and cruel enemy the archbiſhop, and telling his own ſad ſtory, at the appearance of Dante.

La bocca ſolleuò dal fiero paſto
Quel peccator, &c.

He from the horrid food his mouth withdrew,
And wiping with the clotted offal hair
His ſhudd'ring lips, raiſing his head thus ſpake.

You will compel me to renew my grief
Which e're I ſpeak oppreſſes my ſad heart;
But if I infamy accumulate
On him whoſe head I gnaw, I'll not forbear
To ſpeak, tho' tears flow faſter than my words.

I know not who you are, nor by what power,
Whether of ſaints or devils, you hither came,
But by your ſpeech you ſeem a Florentine;
Know then that I count Ugolino am,
Archbiſhop Ruggieri this; which known,
That I by him betray'd was put to death,
Is needleſs to relate, you ſure have heard;

But what muſt be unknown to mortal men,
The cruel circumſtances of my death,
Theſe I will tell; which dreadful ſecret known,
You will conceive how juſt is my revenge.

The ancient tow'r in which I was confin'd,
And which is now the tow'r of Famine call'd,
Had in her ſides ſome ſymptoms of decay;
Through theſe I ſaw the firſt approach of morn,
After a reſtleſs night, the firſt I ſlept
A priſoner in its walls; unquiet dreams
Oppreſs'd my lab'ring brain. I ſaw this man
Hunting a wolf, and her four little whelps
Upon that ridge of mountains which divides
The Piſan lands from thoſe which Lucca claims;
With meagre, hungry dogs the chaſe was made,
Nor long continued, quick they ſeiz'd the prey,
And tore their bowels with remorſeleſs teeth.

Soon as my broken ſlumbers fled, I heard
My ſons (who alſo were confin'd with me)
Cry in their troubled ſleep, and aſk for bread;
O you are cruel if you do not weep,
Thinking on that which now you well perceive
My heart divin'd; if this provoke not tears,
At what are you accuſtomed to weep?

The hour was come when food ſhould have been brought,
Inſtead of that, O God! I heard the noiſe
Of creaking locks and bolts, with doubled force
Securing our deſtruction. I beheld
The faces of my ſons with troubled eyes;
I look'd on them, but utter'd not a word;

Nor

Nor could I weep; they wept; Anſelmo ſaid,
(My little dear Anſelmo) what's the matter,
Father, why look you ſo? I wept not yet,
Nor ſpake a word that day, nor following night.

But when the light of the ſucceeding morn
Faintly appear'd, and I beheld my own
In the four faces of my w etched ſons,
I, in my clenched fiſts, faſten'd my teeth;
They judging 'twas for hunger roſe at once,
You, ſir, have giv'n us being, you have cloath'd
Us with this miſerable fleſh, 'tis yours,
Suſtain yourſelf with it, the grief to us
Is leſs to die, than thus to ſee your woes.
Thus ſpake my boys: I like a ſtatue then
Was ſilent, ſtill, and not to add to theirs,
Doubled the weight of my own miſeries:

This, and the following day in ſilence paſs'd.
Why cruel earth didſt thou not open then!

The fourth came on; my Gaddo at my feet
Cry'd, father help me; ſaid no more but dy'd;
Another day two other ſons expir'd;
The next left me alone in woe; their griefs
Were ended. Blindneſs now had ſeiz'd my eyes,
But no relief afforded; I ſaw not
My ſons, but grop'd about with feeble hands
Longing to touch their famiſh'd carcaſſes,
Calling firſt one, then t'other by their names,
'Till, after two days more, what grief could not,
That famine did. He ſaid no more, but turn'd
With baleful eyes diſtorted all in haſte,
And ſeiz'd again, and gnaw'd the mangled head.

The hiſtorian and poet having done their parts, comes Michael Angelo Buonarotti, and goes on in a bas-relief I have ſeen in the hands of Mr. Trench, a modeſt, ingenious painter, lately arrived from his long ſtudies in Italy. He ſhews us the count ſitting with his four ſons, one dead at his feet, over their heads is a figure repreſenting Famine, and underneath is another to denote the river Arno, on whoſe banks this tragedy was acted. Michael Angelo was the fitteſt man that ever lived to cut, or paint this ſtory, if I had wiſhed to ſee it repreſented in ſculpture or painting, I ſhould have fixed upon this hand; he was a Dante in his way, and he read him perpetually. I have already obſerved, and it is very true, there are certain ideas which cannot be communicated by words, but by ſculpture or painting only; it would be ridiculous then on this occaſion to undertake to deſcribe this admirable bas-relief; it is enough for my preſent purpoſe to ſay there are attitudes, and airs of heads ſo proper to the ſubject, that they carry the imagination beyond what the hiſtorian or poet could poſſibly; for the reſt I muſt refer to the work itſelf. It is true a genius equal to that of Michael Angelo, may form to itſelf as ſtrong and proper expreſſions as theſe; but where is that genius! Nor can even he communicate them to another, unleſs he has alſo a hand like

like that of Michael Angelo, and will take that way of doing it.

And could we ſee the ſame ſtory painted by the ſame great maſter, it will be eaſily conceived that this muſt carry the matter ſtill farther; there we might have had all the advantages of expreſſion which the addition of colours would have given, and the colouring of Michael Angelo was as proper to that, as his genius was to the ſtory in general; theſe would have ſhewn us the pale and livid fleſh of the dead, and dying figures, the redneſs of eyes, and blueiſh lips of the count, the darkneſs and horror of the priſon, and other circumſtances, beſides the habits (for in the bas-relief all the figures are naked as more proper for ſculpture) theſe might be contrived ſo as to expreſs the quality of the perſons the more to excite our pity, as well as to enrich the picture by their variety.

Thus, hiſtory begins, poetry raiſes higher, not only by embelliſhing the ſtory, but by additions purely poetical: Sculpture goes yet farther, and painting compleats and perfects, and that only can; and here ends; this is the utmoſt limit of human power in the communication of ideas.

I have obſerved elſewhere, and will take leave to put my reader in mind of it once more. It is little to the honour of painting, or of the maſters of whom the ſtories are told, that the birds have been cheated by a painted bunch of grapes; or men by a fly, or a curtain, and ſuch like; theſe are little things in compariſon of what we are to expect from the art. Thoſe who have fancied theſe kind of things conſiderable have been wretched connoiſſeurs, how excellent ſoever they may have been in other reſpects. Raphael would have diſdained to have attempted ſuch trifles, or would have bluſhed to have been praiſed for them *; but Raphael would have painted a god, a hero, an angel, a Madona; or he would have related ſome noble hiſtory, or made a portrait in ſuch a manner, as whoever ſaw it with genius and attention, ſhould treaſure up in his mind an idea that ſhould always give him pleaſure, and be a wiſer and better man all his life after.

The buſineſs of painting is to do almoſt all that diſcourſe and books can, and, in many inſtances, much more, as well as more ſpeedily

* As Philip aſked his ſon Alexander, if he was not aſhamed to play ſo finely on the flute? becauſe the time and parts that had been ſpent in acquiring ſuch a trifling excellence, ſhould have been employed on worthier ſubjects.

and

and more delightfully; ſo that if hiſtory, if poetry; if philoſophy, natural or moral, if theology, if any of the liberal arts and ſciences are worthy the notice, and ſtudy of a gentleman, painting is ſo too. To read the ſcripture I know will be allowed to be an employment worthy of a gentleman, becauſe (amongſt other reaſons) from hence he learns his duty to God, his neighbour and himſelf; he is put in mind of many great and inſtructive events, and his paſſions are warmed and agitated, and turned into a right channel; all theſe noble ends are anſwered, I will not ſay as effectually, but I will repeat it again and again they are anſwered when we look upon, and conſider what the great maſters have done when they have aſſumed the characters of divines or moraliſts, or have in their way related any of the ſacred ſtories. Is it an amuſement or an employment worthy of a gentleman to read Homer, Virgil, Milton? the works of the moſt excellent painters have the like beautiful deſcriptions, the like elevation of thought, and raiſe and move the paſſions, inſtruct and improve the mind as theſe do. Is it worthy of a gentleman to employ, or divert himſelf by reading Thucydides, Livy, Clarendon? the works of the moſt excellent painters have the like beauty of narration, fill the mind with ideas of the like noble events, and inform, inſtruct, and touch the ſoul alike.

Is

Is it worthy of a gentleman to read Horace, Terence, Shakeſpeare, the Tatlers, and Spectators? The works of the moſt excellent painters do alſo thus give us an image of human life, and fill our minds with uſeful reflections, as well as diverting ideas; all theſe ends are anſwered, and oftentimes to a greater degree than any other way. To conſider a picture aright is to read; but in reſpect of the beauty with which the eye is all the while entertained, whether of colours or figures, it is not only to read a book, and that finely printed and well bound, but as if a concert of muſic were heard at the ſame time: You have at once an intellectual and a ſenſual pleaſure.

I plead for the art, not its abuſes; it is a ſublime paſſage that in Job, "If when I beheld "the ſun when it ſhined, or the moon walking "in brightneſs, and my heart hath been ſe-"cretly enticed, or my mouth hath kiſſed my "hand, this alſo was an iniquity to be puniſhed "by the judge, for I ſhould have denied the "God that is above." If when I ſee a Madona, though painted by Raphael, I be enticed and drawn away to idolatry; or if the ſubject of a picture, though painted by Annibale Carracci, pollutes my mind with impure images, and transforms me into a brute; or if any other, though ever ſo excellent, rob me of my innocence

cence and virtue, "May my tongue cleave to "the roof of my mouth, and my right hand "forget its cunning" if I am its advocate, as it is inſtrumental to ſuch deteſted purpoſes: But theſe abuſes excepted (as what hath not been? what is not abuſed?) the praiſe of painting is a ſubject not unworthy of the tongue or pen of the greateſt orator, poet, hiſtorian, philoſopher, or divine; any of which, when he is conſidering the works of our great maſters, will not only find him to be one of themſelves, but ſometimes all theſe at once, and in an eminent degree. I know I ſpeak with zeal, and an ardent paſſion for the art, but I am ſerious, and ſpeak from conviction and experience; and whoever conſiders impartially, and acquaints himſelf with ſuch admirable works of painters as I have done, will find what I have ſaid is ſolid and unexaggerated truth.

The dignity of the ſcience I am recommending will farther appear if it be conſidered, that if gentlemen were lovers of painting, and connoiſſeurs, it would be of great advantage to the public, in

Firſt, The reformation of our manners.

Second, The improvement of our people.

Third,

Third, The increaſe of our wealth, and with all theſe of our honour and power.

Anatomiſts tell us there are ſeveral parts in the bodies of animals that ſingly ſerve to ſeveral purpoſes, any of which would juſtify the wiſdom and goodneſs of providence in the forming of them; but that they are equally uſeful and neceſſary to all, and ſerve the end of each as effectually as if they were applied to one only; this is alſo true of painting; it ſerves for ornament and uſe; it pleaſes our eyes, and moreover informs our underſtandings, excites our paſſions, and inſtructs us how to manage them.

Things ornamental, and things uſeful, are commonly diſtinguiſhed; but the truth is, ornaments are alſo of uſe, the diſtinction lies only in the ends to which they are ſubſervient. The wiſe creator in the great fabrick of the world hath abundantly provided for theſe, as well as for thoſe that are called the neceſſaries of life; let us imagine ourſelves always inhabiting between bare walls; wearing nothing but what was requiſite to the covering of our bodies, and protecting them from the inclemencies of the weather; no diſtinction of quality or office; ſeeing nothing to delight, but merely what ſerves for the maintenance of our being; how ſavage and uncomfortable muſt this be! Ornaments

ments raiſe and exhilarate our ſpirits, and help to excite more uſeful ſentiments than is commonly imagined; and if any have this effect, pictures (conſidered only as ſuch) will do ſo in an eminent degree, as being one of the principal of this kind.

But pictures are not merely ornamental, they are alſo inſtructive; and thus our houſes are not only unlike the caves of wild beaſts, or the huts of ſavages, but diſtinguiſhed from thoſe of Mahometans, which are adorned indeed, but with what affords no inſtruction to the mind: Our walls, like the trees of Dodona's grove, ſpeak to us, and teach us hiſtory, morality, divinity; excite in us joy, love, pity, devotion; if pictures have not this good effect, it is our own fault in not chuſing them well, or not applying ourſelves to make a right uſe of them. But I have ſpoken of this ſufficiently already, and will only take leave to add here, that, if not only our houſes, but our churches were adorned with proper hiſtories or allegories well painted, the people being now ſo well inſtructed as to be out of danger of ſuperſtitious abuſes, their minds would be more ſenſibly affected than they can poſſibly be without this efficacious means of improvement and edification.

If gentlemen were lovers of painting, and connoiſſeurs, this would help to reform themſelves, as their example and influence would have the like effect upon the common people. All animated beings naturally covet pleaſure, and eagerly purſue it as their chief good; the great affair is to chuſe thoſe that are worthy of rational beings, ſuch as are not only innocent, but noble and excellent. Men of eaſy and plentiful fortunes have commonly a great part of their time at their own diſpoſal, and the want of knowing how to paſs thoſe hours away in virtuous amuſements, contributes perhaps as much to the miſchievous effects of vice, as covetouſneſs, pride, luſt, love of wine, or any other paſſion whatſoever. If gentlemen therefore found pleaſure in pictures, drawings, prints, ſtatues, intaglias, and the like curious works of art; in diſcovering their beauties and defects; in making proper obſervations thereupon; and in all the other parts of the buſineſs of a connoiſſeur, how many hours of leiſure would here be profitably employed, inſtead of what is criminal, ſcandalous, and miſchievous! I confeſs I cannot ſpeak experimentally, becauſe I have not tried thoſe; nor can any man pronounce upon the pleaſures of another; but I know what I am recommending is ſo a great a one, that I cannot conceive the other can be

equal

equal to it, especially if the drawbacks of fear, remorse, shame, pain, expence, &c. be taken into the account.

Second, Our common people have been exceedingly improved within an age or two by being taught to read and write; they have also made great advances in mechanicks, and in several other arts and sciences; and our gentry and clergy are more learned, and better reasoners than in times past; a farther improvement might yet be made, and particularly in the arts of design: If as children are taught other things, they, together with these, learned to draw, they would not only be qualified to become better painters, carvers, engravers, and to attain the like arts immediately and evidently depending on design, but they would thus become better mechanicks of all kinds.

And if to learn to draw, and to understand pictures and drawings, were made a part of the education of a gentleman, as their example would excite others to do the like, it cannot be denied but that this would be a farther improvement even of this part of our people; the whole nation would by these means be removed some degrees higher into the rational state, and make

make a more conſiderable figure amongſt the polite nations of the world.

Third, If gentlemen were lovers of painting, and connoiſſeurs, as of courſe they would ſoon be, many ſums of money which are now laviſhed away, and conſumed in luxury, would be laid up in pictures, drawings, and antiques, which would be, not as plate or jewels, but a really improving eſtate; ſince, as time and accidents muſt continually waſte and diminiſh the number of theſe curioſities, and no new ſupply (equal in goodneſs to thoſe we have) is to be hoped for, as the appearance of things at preſent are, the value of ſuch as are preſerved with care muſt neceſſarily increaſe more and more; eſpecially if there is a greater demand for them, as there * certainly will be if the taſte of gentlemen takes this turn: Nay, it is not improbable that money laid out this way, with judgment and prudence (and if gentlemen are good connoiſſeurs they will not be impoſed upon as they too often are) may turn to better account than almoſt in any other.

* How greatly time hath verified this, and from the cauſe my father ſuggeſts, is manifeſt; as it hath alſo done ſeveral of the following hints.

We

We know the advantages Italy receives from her poſſeſſion of ſo many fine pictures, ſtatues, and other curious works of art: If our country becomes famous in that way, as her riches will enable her to be, if our nobility and gentry are lovers and connoiſſeurs, we ſhall ſhare with Italy in the profits ariſing from the concourſe of foreigners for the pleaſure and improvement that is to be had from the ſeeing and conſidering ſuch rarities.

If our people were improved in the arts of deſigning, not only our paintings, carvings and prints, but the works of all our other artificers would alſo be proportionably improved, and conſequently coveted by other nations, and their price advanced, which therefore would be no ſmall improvement of our trade, and with that of our wealth.

I have obſerved heretofore, that there is no artiſt whatſoever that produces a piece of work of a value ſo vaſtly above that of the materials of nature's furniſhing, as the painter does; nor conſequently that can enrich a country in any degree like him: Now if painting were only conſidered as upon the level with other manufactures, the employment of more hands, and the work being better done, would certainly

tend to the increaſe of our wealth; but this conſideration over and above adds a great weight to the argument in favour of the art as inſtrumental to this end.

Inſtead of importing vaſt quantities of pictures, and the like curioſities for ordinary uſe, we might fetch from abroad only the beſt, and ſupply other nations with better than now we commonly take off their hands: For as much a ſuperfluity as theſe things are thought to be, they are ſuch as no body will be without; not the meaneſt cottager in the kingdom, that is not in the extremeſt poverty, but he will have ſomething of picture in his ſight. The ſame is the cuſtom in other nations, in ſome to a greater, in others to a leſs degree: Theſe ornaments people will have as well as what is abſolutely neceſſary to life, and as ſure a demand will be for them as for food and cloaths; as it is in ſome other inſtances, which had been thought at firſt to be equally ſuperfluous, but which are now become conſiderable branches of trade, and conſequently of great advantage to the public.

Thus a thing as yet unheard of, and whoſe very name (to our diſhonour) has at preſent an uncouth ſound, may come to be eminent in the world, I mean the Engliſh ſchool of painting; and,

and, whenever this happens, who knows to what heights it may riſe; for the Engliſh nation is not accuſtomed to do things by halves.

Arts and politeneſs have a conſtant rotation; theſe parts of Europe have twice received them from Italy, ſhe from Greece, who had them from Egypt and Perſia. In one age ſuch a part of the globe is enlightened, and the reſt in darkneſs; and thoſe that were ſavages for many centuries, in a certain revolution of time, become the poliſhed part of the world. The arts of deſign have long ago forſaken Perſia, Egypt and Greece, and are now, a third time, much declined in Italy; ſome other country may ſucceed her in this particular, as ſhe ſucceeded Greece. Or if the arts continue there, they may ſpread themſelves, and other nations may equal, if not excel, the Italians: There is nothing unreaſonable in the thing, nay, it is exceeding probable.

I have ſaid it heretofore, and will venture to repeat it, notwithſtanding the national vanity of ſome of our neighbours, and our own falſe modeſty and partiality to foreigners (in this reſpect, though in others we have ſuch demonſtrations of our ſuperiority that we have learned to be conſcious of it) if ever the great taſte in

painting, if ever that delightful, uſeful, and noble art does revive in the world, it is probable it will be in England.

Beſides that greatneſs of mind which has always been inherent in our nation, and a degree of ſolid ſenſe not inferior to any of our neighbours, we have advantages greater than is commonly thought. We are not without our ſhare of drawings, of which Italy has been in a manner exhauſted long ſince: We have ſome fine antiques, and a competent number of pictures of the beſt maſters. But whatever our number or variety of good pictures is, we have the beſt hiſtory pictures that are any where now in being, for we have the cartons of Raphael at Hampton-Court, which are generally allowed, even by foreigners, and thoſe of our own nation who are the moſt bigotted to Italy or France, to be the beſt of that maſter, as he is inconteſtably the beſt of all thoſe whoſe works remain in the world. And for portraits we have admirable ones, and perhaps the beſt of Titian, Rubens, and above all of Vandyke, of whom we have very many; and theſe are the beſt portrait painters that ever were.

In ancient times we have been frequently ſubdued by foreigners, the Romans, Saxons, Danes,

Danes, and Normans have all done it in their turns; thoſe days are at an end long ſince; and we are by various ſteps arrived to the height of military glory by ſea and land. Nor are we leſs eminent for learning, philoſophy, mathematicks, poetry, ſtrong and clear reaſoning, and a greatneſs and delicacy of taſte; in a word, in many of the liberal and mechanical arts we are equal to any other people, ancients or moderns, and in ſome perhaps ſuperior. We are not yet come to that maturity in the arts of deſign; our neighbours, thoſe of nations not remarkable for their excelling in this way, as well as thoſe that are, have made frequent and ſucceſsful inroads upon us, and in this particular have lorded it over our natives here in their own country. Let us at length diſdain as much to be in ſubjection in this reſpect as in any other; let us put forth our ſtrength, and employ our national virtue, that haughty impatience of ſubjection and inferiority, which ſeems to be the characteriſtic of our nation in this as on many other illuſtrious occaſions, and the thing will be effected; the Engliſh ſchool will riſe and flouriſh.

And to this, and to the obtaining the benefits to the public conſequent thereupon, what I have been pleading for would greatly contri-

bute; for if our nobility and gentry were lovers and connoiſſeurs, public encouragement and aſſiſtance would be given to the art; academies would be ſet up, well regulated, and the government of them put into ſuch hands, as would not want authority to maintain thoſe laws, without which no ſociety can proſper, or long ſubſiſt. Theſe academies would then be well provided of all neceſſaries for inſtruction in geometry, perſpective, and anatomy, as well as deſigning; for without a competent proficiency in the three former, no conſiderable progreſs can be made in the other. They would then be furniſhed with good maſters to direct the ſtudents, and good drawings and figures, whether caſts or originals, antique or modern for their imitation. Nor ſhould theſe be conſidered merely as ſchools or nurſeries for painters and ſculptors, and other artiſts of that kind, but as places for the better education of gentlemen, and to complete the civilizing and poliſhing of our people, as our other ſchools and univerſities, and the other means of inſtruction are.

If our nobility and gentry were lovers of painting, and connoiſſeurs, a much greater treaſure of pictures, drawings and antiques, would be brought in, which would contribute abundantly

abundantly to the raiſing and meliorating our taſte, as well as to the improvement of our artiſts.

And then too people of condition would know that at preſent, whatever hath been the ſtate of things heretofore, foreigners (be they Italians or of whatever other country) have not the advantage over us, whether as connoiſſeurs, or as painters, as they have been accuſtomed to imagine: They will then know that, if in ſome inſtances the advantage is on their ſide, in others it is on ours: Thus that partiality ſo diſcouraging and pernicious to our own people will be removed.

Such men being connoiſſeurs, and lovers of painting, and zealous for the honour and intereſt of their country in this particular, would raiſe the ſame ſpirit in others, and amongſt the reſt in the artiſts themſelves if it were not there before; and theſe would then be obliged to labour to improve in their ſeveral ways, becauſe they muſt be otherwiſe without employment; whereas they will be tempted to indulge themſelves in ſloth and ignorance, when they find there are eaſier methods of attaining fame and riches, at leaſt of living tolerably well, than

by making any conſiderable progreſs in their art.

A good taſte and judgment in thoſe who employ them would not only compel painters to ſtudy and be induſtrious, but put them in a right way if they fell not into it of themſelves: It hath been ſaid King Charles the Firſt took ſuch delight in painting that he frequently ſpent ſeveral hours with Vandyke, remarking upon his works, and giving him ſuch hints as much contributed to the excellence we ſee in them. Painters would thus learn not to attach themſelves meanly and ſervilely to the imitation of this or that particular manner or maſter, and thoſe perhaps none of the beſt, but to have more noble, open, and extenſive views; to go to the fountain head from whence the greateſt men have drawn that which has made their works the wonder of ſucceeding ages; they would thus learn to go to nature, and to the reaſon of things. Let them receive all the light they can from drawings, pictures and antiques, but let them not ſtop there, but endeavour to diſcover what rules the great maſters went by, what principles they built upon, or might have built upon, and let them do the ſame; not becauſe thoſe maſters did ſo, or were ſuppoſed to have done ſo, but becauſe it was reaſonable.

If,

If, laſtly, men of birth and fortunes were generally lovers of painting, and connoiſſeurs, as they would be convinced of the dignity of the profeſſion, they would cauſe more of their younger ſons (at leaſt) to be applied this way, as well as to law, divinity, arms, navigation, &c. Theſe by a generous education, and not being obliged to work for bare ſubſiſtence, would be better qualified for ſo noble a ſtudy, and have better opportunities of improvement in it. There can be no ſuch thing as a mere painter; to merit the name of a painter, it is neceſſary to be much more; he muſt be conſiderable without that addition. It is not here as in numbers, where if a unit be ſet before ſeveral cyphers it may make a ſum; there muſt be a large ſum firſt, and then this unit ſet at the head of them hath a value, and makes the whole ten times more.

I have been ſhewing how beneficial the art of painting is, and how much more it might be made to the public in the reformation of our manners, improvement of our people, and increaſe of our wealth, all which would bring a proportionable addition of honour and power to this brave nation; and I have ſhewn that for a gentleman to become a lover of the art, and a connoiſſeur, is the way to attain this end: This alone

alone, if there was no other argument, would prove it to be worthy of ſuch a one to turn his thoughts this way.——

Here being a full period, and the firſt opportunity I have had, I will inform the public that I have at length found a name for the Science of a Connoiſſeur, of which I am treating, and which I obſerved at the entrance of this ſubject wanted one. After ſome ſheets of this work were printed, in a former edition, I was complaining of this defect to a friend, who I knew, and every body will readily acknowledge was very proper to be adviſed with on this or a much greater occaſion; and the next day had the honour of a letter from him on another affair, wherein however the term CONNOISSANCE was uſed; this I immediately found was that he recommended, and which I ſhall uſe hereafter. And indeed ſince the term CONNOISSEUR, though it has a general ſignification, hath been received as denoting one ſkilful in this particular ſcience; there can be no reaſon why the ſcience itſelf ſhould not be called CONNOISSANCE. Perhaps it is not without ſome mixture of vanity in myſelf, but in juſtice to my friend I muſt not conceal his name; it is Mr. PRIOR.——

I will

I will now go on with my diſcourſe.

There are few who pretend to be connoiſſeurs, and of thoſe few the number of ſuch as deſerve to be ſo called is very ſmall: It is not enough to be an ingenious man in general, nor to have ſeen all the fineſt things in Europe, nor even to be able to make a good picture, much leſs the having the names and ſomething of the hiſtory of the maſters; all this will not make a man a good connoiſſeur. To be able to judge of the goodneſs of a picture, moſt of thoſe qualifications are neceſſary which the painter himſelf ought to be poſſeſſed of, that is, all that are not practical; he muſt be maſter of the ſubject, and if it be improveable he muſt know it is ſo, and wherein; he muſt not only ſee and judge of the thought of the painter in what he hath done, but muſt know moreover what he ought to have done; he muſt be acquainted with the paſſions, their nature, and how they appear on all occaſions. He muſt have a delicacy of eye to judge of harmony and proportion, of beauty of colours, and accuracy of hand; and laſtly he muſt be converſant with the better ſort of people, and with the antique, or he will not be a good judge of grace and greatneſs. To be a good connoiſſeur a man muſt be as free from all kinds of prejudice

judice as poſſible; he muſt moreover have a clear and exact way of thinking and reaſoning; he muſt know how to take in, and manage juſt ideas; and throughout he muſt have not only a ſolid, but an unbiaſſed judgment. Theſe are the qualifications of a connoiſſeur; and are not theſe, and the exerciſe of them, well becoming a gentleman?

The knowledge of hiſtory hath ever been eſteemed to be ſo. And this is abſolutely neceſſary to a connoiſſeur, not that only which may enable him to judge how well the painter has managed ſuch and ſuch a ſtory, which he will have frequent occaſion to do, but the particular hiſtory of the arts, and eſpecially of painting.

Methinks it ſhould be worth the while of ſome one duly qualified for ſuch an undertaking, inſtead of the accounts of revolutions in empires and governments, and the means or accidents whereby they were effected, military, or political, to give us the hiſtory of mankind with reſpect to the place they hold among rational beings; that is, a hiſtory of arts and ſciences; wherein it would be ſeen to what heights ſome of the ſpecies have riſen in ſome ages, and ſome countries, whilſt at the ſame time, on other parts of the globe, men have been

been but one degree above common animals; and the ſame people who in this age gave a dignity to human nature, in another ſunk almoſt to brutality, or changed from one excellency to another. Here we might find where and when ſuch an invention firſt appeared, and by what means; what improvements and decays happened; when ſuch luminary roſe, and what courſe it took; and whether it is now aſcending; in its zenith, declining, or ſet. Here it would be conſidered what improvements the moderns have made upon the ancients, and what ground they have loſt. Such a hiſtory well written, would give a clear idea of the nobleſt ſpecies of beings we are acquainted with, in that particular wherein their pre-eminence conſiſts. And (by the way) I will take leave to obſerve, that we ſhould find them to have arrived at a vaſt extent of knowledge and capacity in natural philoſophy, in aſtronomy, in navigation, in geometry, and other branches of the mathematics, in war, in government, in painting, poetry, muſic, and other liberal and mechanic arts; in other reſpects, particularly in metaphyſics and religion, to have been ridiculous and contemptible; except where the divine goodneſs hath vouchſafed an extraordinary portion of light, like the ſun-beams darting out here and there upon the earth in a cloudy

cloudy day, or where it has blazed out plentifully by ſupernatural revelation.

In ſuch a hiſtory it would be found that the arts of deſign, painting, and ſculpture, were known in Perſia and Egypt, long before we have any accounts of them amongſt the Greeks; but that they carried them to an amazing height, from whence they afterwards ſpread themſelves into Italy, and other parts, with various revolutions, till they ſunk with the Roman empire, and were loſt for many ages, ſo that there was not a man upon the face of the earth able to delineate the form of a houſe, a bird, a tree, a human face, a body, or whatever other figure conſiſting of any variety of curved lines, otherwiſe than as a child amongſt us: to do this, right, and as it is done now, was as much above the capacity of the ſpecies, at that time, as it is now to make a voyage to the moon. In this ſtate of things, about the middle of the 13th century Giovanni Cimabue a Florentine, prompted to it by a natural genius, and aſſiſted at firſt by ſome wretched painters from Greece, began to reſtore thoſe arts which were improved by his diſciple Giotto.

In ſuch a hiſtory it would follow that after ſeveral endeavours and advances had been made

made by Simone Memmi, Andrea Verrocchio, and others, Maſſaccio born about anno 1417 at Florence, in his ſhort life of ſix and twenty years, made ſo conſiderable an improvement upon what he found had been done before him, that he may juſtly be (as he is) eſteemed, the father of the ſecond age of modern painting. The light thus happily kindled in Tuſcany diffuſed itſelf into Lombardy; for ſoon after the death of Maſaccio, the Bellinis, Jacopo, and his two ſons firſt introduced the art into Venice; and ſoon after, Franceſco Francia appeared at Bologna, and was the Maſſaccio of that city; for the art had raiſed its head there long before *, and ſome ſay more early than even at Florence; though it was but juſt kept alive there till many years after. About this time too Andrea Mantegna ſhewed the art to thoſe of Mantua and Padua. Germany alſo had her Albert Durer about the latter end of the ſame century, and in the beginning of the next Lucas van Leyden was famous in Holland; as was Hans Holbein quickly after here in England. But Florence was ſtill the center of light, where it brightened more and more; for in the year 1445 Lionardo da Vinci was born there; this was a univerſal man, and, amongſt other arts, was excellent in paint-

* See count Malvaſia's Felſina Pittrice.

ing

ing and deſigning, eſpecially the latter, in which he ſometimes almoſt equalled the beſt maſters the world ever ſaw. About 30 years after him aroſe Michael Angelo Buonarotti, the head of the Florentine ſchool, a vaſt genius, ſuperior to all the moderns in ſculpture, and perhaps in deſigning, and a profound knowledge in anatomy; and moreover as excellent an architect. Theſe two great men coming to Rome, where (though there was ſo great a diſproportion in their years) they were competitors, transferred the ſeat of the art to that happy city. Though in Venice it went on improving, and growing up to maturity and perfection, which it attained to (in ſome of its parts, particularly colouring) in Giorgione, and more eminently in Titian, and in Correggio upon the terra firma of Lombardy. And now, that is, upon the entrance of the 16th century the great luminary of painting appeared above the horizon, the undoubted head of the Roman ſchool, and of the modern painters Raphael Sanzio da Urbino. Whether any of the ancients excelled him, and if they did, in what degree, are queſtions which the hiſtory I am recommending as proper to be written may endeavour to reſolve, I will not. But ſuch an hiſtorian will go on to ſhew how the flame which blazed ſo glorioufly in Raphael, and continued bright, though with a diminiſhed

niſhed luſtre in his diſciples Giulio Romano, Polidoro, Pierino, and others; and at Florence in Andrea del Sarto; and there, and elſewhere, as well as at Rome in Baldaſſar Peruzzi, Primaticcio, Parmegiano, the elder Palma, Tintoretto, Baroccio, Paulo Veroneſe, and many others, decayed by little and little; till it was blown up again in the ſchool of the Caracci in Bologna, about an hundred and forty years ago; and continued with great brightneſs in their diſciples and others; Guido, Albani, Dominichino, Lanfranco, &c. But as the Jews wept when they ſaw the ſecond temple, which, though magnificent, was not equal to the firſt, ſo neither was this great effort capable of producing ſuch ſtupendous works of art as thoſe of the Raphael age. And though we have had great men in their ſeveral ways, as Rubens, Spagnoletto, Guercino, Nicholas Pouſſin, Pietro da Cortona, Andrea Sacchi, Vandyke, Caſtiglione, Claude Loreneſe, the Borgognone, Salvator Roſa, Carlo Maratti, Luca Giordano, and ſeveral others of leſſer note, though nevertheleſs of conſiderable merit, yet the art has viſibly declined. As for its preſent ſtate in Italy, here, and elſewhere, the hiſtorian I am ſpeaking of may write what he thinks fit, and perhaps by that time new matter may ariſe; I, for my own part, inſtead of entering upon that ſubject, will content myſelf with obſerving in

general, that, though mankind hath always expreſſed a love to it, and been ready to encourage the weakeſt endeavours this way, (I only except the Jews, an Arabian impoſtor, and his fanatick diſciples, and ſome few enthuſiaſts, and four, ſtupid people) the ſpecies in all the many ages of their exiſtence hath been rarely able, and in a narrow extent of country at any one time to perform any thing conſiderable in painting; there have been innumerable geniuſes in other arts and ſciences, but in this the number is very ſmall; great maſters in many other arts have appeared in all ages; of painting there have been none in all the ſix thouſand years ſince the birth of the world, except thoſe in Greece and Italy, two thouſand years ago, and this perhaps for about the ſpace of five hundred years; and thoſe in this latter age of the art of which I have been offering a curſory view.

It muſt have been obſerved that the art hath flouriſhed at Florence, Rome, Venice, Bologna, &c. in each of which places the ſtyle of painting has been different; as it hath been in the ſeveral ages in which it has flouriſhed. When it firſt began to revive after the terrible devaſtations of ſuperſtition and barbariſm, it was with a ſtiff, lame manner, which mended by little and little, till the time of Maſaccio, who

roſe into a better taſte, and began what was reſerved for Raphael to complete. However, even this bad ſtyle had ſomething manly and vigorous; whereas in the decay, whether after the happy age of Raphael, or that of Hannibal, one ſees an effeminate, languid air, or, if it has not that, it has the vigour of a bully, rather than of a brave man: The old bad painting has more faults than the modern, but this falls into the inſipid.

The painters of the Roman ſchool were the beſt deſigners, and had more of the antique taſte in their works than any of the others, but generally they were not good colouriſts; thoſe of Florence were good deſigners, and had a kind of greatneſs, but it was not antique. The Venetian and Lombard ſchools had excellent colouriſts, and a certain grace, but entirely modern, eſpecially thoſe of Venice; but their drawing was generally incorrect, and their knowledge in hiſtory, and the antique very little: And the Bologneſe ſchool is a ſort of compoſition of the others; even Hannibal himſelf poſſeſſed not any part of painting in the perfection which is to be ſeen in thoſe from whom his manner is compoſed; though, to make amends, he poſſeſſed more parts than perhaps any other maſter, and all in a very high degree. The works of thoſe of the German ſchool have a

dryneſs and ungraceful ſtiffneſs, not like what is ſeen amongſt the old Florentines, this has ſomething in it pleaſing however, but that is odious, and as remote from the antique as Gothiciſm could carry it. The Flemings have been good colouriſts, and imitated nature as they conceived it, that is, inſtead of raiſing nature, they fell below it, though not ſo much as the Germans, nor in the ſame manner; Rubens himſelf lived and died a Fleming, though he would fain have been an Italian; but his imitators have caricaturaed his manner, that is, they have been more Rubens in his defects than he himſelf was, but without his excellencies. The French (excepting ſome few of them, N. Pouſſin, Le Seur, Sebaſtien Bourdon, &c.) as they have not the German ſtiffneſs, nor the Flemiſh ungracefulneſs, neither have they the Italian ſolidity; and in their airs of heads and manners, they are eaſily diſtinguiſhed from the antique, how much ſoever they may have endeavoured to imitate them.

Which have been the moſt excellent painters, the ancients or the moderns, is a queſtion often propoſed, and which I will, juſt by the by, endeavour to reſolve. That the painters of thoſe times were equal to the ſculptors in invention, expreſſion, drawing, grace and greatneſs, beſides their own authors all affirming it, is ſo exceed-

exceeding probable, that I think it may be taken for granted. If ſo, that in drawing, grace and greatneſs, the ancients have the advantage is certain; and little leſs than certain that in colouring, and compoſition the moderns have it more.

Now, as drawing repreſents to us the beauty of forms, and colouring the animated tints of the life, this ſeems, in a great meaſure, to make amends, in favour of the moderns, for what they may be, in ſome degree, wanting, in regard to the other; yet not wholly, ſince no colours can ever equal the beauties of nature; whereas drawing, we can almoſt venture to ſay, can ſurpaſs nature itſelf; at leaſt ſuch as one ever ſees it in the ſame ſubject.

The manner of thinking of the ancients is ſuch as is not to be mentioned without the utmoſt veneration allowed to be given to mortal men; but when I ſee what ſome of the moderns have done in theſe parts of painting, I profeſs I dare not determine which has the preference. It would be a fine amuſement, or rather a noble and a uſeful employment for a gentleman to collect and compare the many fine thoughts and expreſſions on one ſide and the other: For me to do it here would be too tedious, and too great a taſk, having already undertaken

what will coſt me more pains and time than I intended, or perhaps is fit for me to beſtow this way.

Thus far the ſcale ſeems pretty equal; unleſs it be thought to incline a little on the ſide of the ancients. There remains to oppoſe the compoſition of the moderns, to this ſmall advantage, and to that, far more conſiderable one, their high excellence in grace and greatneſs. But perhaps all this will not be ſufficient to give them the preference; for, without mentioning our Parmegiano, our Corregio, our Michael Angelo, let us inſiſt on our Raphael alone, "In quo inſtar omnium auxiliorum eſt;" let us reflect on what he hath done for us, in ſubjects far more ſublime than the ancients ever had to treat, (and by the way let this be added to the ſcale of the moderns, that they are poſſeſſed of ſuch ſubjects) and let us give compoſition its due ſhare, in which the ancients come in no ſort of concurrence with us; let us reflect, that this, which is like perſpicuity in writing, that ariſes from the methodical diſpoſition of the ſeveral parts of the ſubject; and that it not only gives a relief to, and improves the other beauties, but ſtill more ſtrongly urges the expreſſion itſelf, which is the very life and ſoul of the work, by making it every where remarked; I think I may venture to decide in favour

favour of the moderns: However I ſhould be glad to ſee this curious queſtion handled with accuracy and judgment.

Another part of hiſtory, no leſs worthy a gentleman's conſideration than neceſſary to a connoiſſeur, is that of the lives of the particular maſters. When we reflect upon the vigorous ſallies which ſome of the ſpecies have made, whereby they have as it were connected ours with that of the next order of beings above us, we muſt naturally deſire to have a more exact account of every ſtep they made towards that glorious diſtinction; this alſo will be of uſe to ourſelves, and help to excite us to do ſomething whereby we alſo may be diſtinguiſhed with honour, and our memories be ſweet to poſterity.

As in reading the lives of great captains and ſtateſmen, we are inſtructed in the hiſtory of their times, and their own and neighbouring nations; in thoſe of philoſophers and divines we ſee the ſtate of learning and religion; ſo in the lives of the painters we ſee the hiſtory of the art; and I believe there has been as many accounts of theſe great men who have done ſo much honour to human nature, and many of them as well written as of any claſs of men whatſoever.

The general idea I have of thoſe excellent men, I mean of the principal of them, ſuch as thoſe of whom I have given an hiſtorical and chronological liſt at the end of the firſt part of this work is this, they were moſt of them men of fine, natural parts, and ſome of them went very far into learning and other ſciences, particularly muſic and poetry; many of them have received various public honours, and ſome have entailed nobility on their poſterity; moſt of them advanced their fortunes very conſiderably, they have generally been in great favour with their ſovereigns, or much eſteemed and honoured by men of the firſt quality; lived in great reputation, and died regretted by the beſt and wiſeſt of their countrymen: Several of them were remarkably fine gentlemen, and if any of them were not ſo, they were not ſordid, low, vicious creatures. Annibale Carracci took more pleaſure in his painting than in the gaieties of a court, or the converſation or friendſhip of the great, which with a ſort of Stoical, and perhaps a mixture of a Cynical pride he deſpiſed; but he had a greatneſs of mind that pleads effectually in his behalf, and compels us to overlook his faults, which were much owing to his natural melancholy. The hiſtories of Raphael, Lionardo da Vinci, Michael Angelo, Titian, Giulio Romano, Guido, Rubens, Vandyke,

dyke, Sir Peter Lely, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, (to name no more) are well known; they lived in great honour, and made a very conſiderable figure in their ſeveral times and countries.

That it hath frequently happened to good painters to have been idle and ſots, is a vulgar error; on the contrary, I know not even one inſtance of this among thoſe great maſters whom I have all along been ſpeaking of, and who alone are conſiderable in their profeſſion; tho' indeed thoſe that have given occaſion for this ſcandal may poſſibly have been the beſt whoſe works thoſe people who have thus thought have been acquainted with.

Another miſtake of this kind is, that the painters, how excellent ſoever they may have been in their art, have often been inconſiderable otherwiſe: But (as I have obſerved heretofore) a valuable man will remain, though a good painter is deprived of his eyes and hands.

When after a brouillerie between pope Julius and Michael Angelo, upon account of a ſlight the artiſt conceived the pontiff had put upon him (the ſtory is at large in Vaſari) Michael Angelo was introduced by a biſhop (who was a ſtranger to him, but was deputed by cardinal Soderini,

Soderini, who being ſick could not do it himſelf as was intended) this biſhop thinking to ſerve Michael Angelo by it, made it an argument that the pope ſhould be reconciled to him, "Becauſe men of his profeſſion were often ignorant, and of no conſequence otherwiſe;" his holineſs, enraged at the biſhop, ſtruck him with his ſtaff, and told him, "It was he that was "the blockhead, and affronted the man himſelf "would not offend:" The prelate was driven out of the chamber, and Michael Angelo had the pope's benediction accompanied with preſents. This biſhop had fallen into this vulgar error, and was rebuked accordingly.

What I have been ſaying puts me in mind of a ſtory which paſſes very currently of this great maſter, and that is, that he had a porter fixed as to a croſs, and then ſtabbed him that he might the better expreſs the dying agonies of our Lord in a crucifix he was painting; I find no good ground for this ſlander. Perhaps it is a copy of a like ſtory of Parrhaſius, the truth of which is alſo much doubted of; it is ſaid he faſtened a ſlave he had bought to a machine, and then tormented him to death; and whilſt he was dying painted the Prometheus he made for the temple of Minerva at Athens. Thoſe who invented theſe ridiculous ſtories, did not

not conſider, that the ſort of expreſſions and diſtortions of theſe low men could not have ſerved to repreſent the agonies of Chriſt on the croſs; nor even thoſe of ſo high a character as that of Prometheus.

Now that I am upon particulars, there is one of a different ſort relating to Titian, which I will take this occaſion to make more public than has yet been done: It is a letter written by him to the emperor Charles V. I find it in a collection of Italian letters printed at Venice 1574. Ridolfi, nor any other writer that I know of has this, though he has another written to the emperor, and one to Philip II. king of Spain, as he has alſo one or two letters from that king to Titian.

" Invittiſſimo principe, ſe dolſe alla ſacra " maeſtà uoſtra la falſa nuoua della morte mia, " a me è ſtato di conſolatione d' eſſere percio " fatto più certo che l' altezza uoſtra della mia " ſeruitù ſi ricordi, onde la uita m' è doppia- " mente cara. Et humilmente prego N. S. " Dio a conſeruarmi (ſe non più) tanto che " finiſca l' opera della ceſarea maeſtà uoſtra, la " quale ſi truoua in termine che a ſettembre " proſſimo potrà comparire dinanzi l' altezza " uoſtra; alla quale frà queſto mezzo con ogni " humiltà

" humiltà m'inchino, & riuerentemente in ſua
" gratia mi raccommando.

" TITIANO VECELLIO."

Lomazzo, in his Idea del Tempio della Pittura, page 57, prettily characterizes ſeveral of thoſe great maſters I have been ſpeaking of, by animals; and famous men, chiefly philoſophers.

To Michael Angelo he aſſigns a dragon, and Socrates.

To Gaudentio an eagle, and Plato,

To Polidoro a horſe, and Alcides.

To Lionardo da Vinci a lion, and Prometheus.

To Andrea Mantegna a ſerpent, and Archimedes.

To Titian an ox, and Ariſtotle.

To Raphael a man, and Solomon.

For the reſt I refer you to the books.

But

But what completes the hiſtory of theſe great painters is their works; of which a great number, eſpecially of drawings, are preſerved to our times. Here we ſee their beginning, progreſs, and completion; their ſeveral various ways of thinking; their different manners of expreſſing their thoughts; the ideas they have of beauty in viſible objects; and what accuracy and readineſs of hand they had in expreſſing what they conceived. Here we ſee the ſteps they made in ſome of their works, their diligence, careleſſneſs, or other inequalities, the variation of their ſtiles, and abundance of other circumſtances relating to them. If therefore hiſtory, if the hiſtory of the arts, if the hiſtory of the particular artiſts, if theſe are worthy of a gentleman, this part of the hiſtory, thus written, where almoſt every page, every character is an inſtance of the beauty and excellency of the art, and of the admirable qualities of the men of whom it treats, is alſo well worthy his peruſal and ſtudy.

I will conclude this branch of my argument relating to the dignity of painting, and connoiſſance, with obſerving, that thoſe of the greateſt quality have not thought it unworthy of them to practiſe, not the latter only, but the other. And that if it is not yet a diminution of ſuch a one's character, not to be a connoiſ-

ſeur,

ſeur, it is an addition to it if he is; and is judged to be ſo by every body. And ſome ſuch we have of our own nation, who are diſtinguiſhed not only by their birth and fortunes, but by other the moſt amiable qualities that juſtly endear them to all who have the honour and happineſs of knowing them, and being known to them; if withal they have a due ſenſe of virtue, integrity, honour, love of their country, and other noble qualities, which thoſe illuſtrious connoiſſeurs poſſeſs in ſo eminent a degree.

SECT. II.

Let us now ſee whether in the ſcience I am treating of as much certainty is not to be had as perhaps in any other whatſoever.

As to the firſt branch, the manner of judging of the goodneſs of a picture, it is eſtabliſhed on inconteſtable principles, founded on the ſenſes. The other, the knowledge of hands, and the diſtinguiſhing copies from originals, have the ſame ſecurity as our lives, our goods, and every thing elſe that depends on order and happineſs in the world. All theſe would be very uncertain indeed, and precarious, if one could make no difference; and if they could be ſo counterfeited,

feited that it would be impoſſible to detect the abuſe.

Rules may be eſtabliſhed ſo clearly derived from reaſon as to be utterly indiſputable. If the deſign of the picture be (as in general it is) to pleaſe * and improve the mind (as in poetry) the ſtory muſt have all poſſible advantages given to it, and the actors muſt have the utmoſt grace and dignity their ſeveral characters will admit of. If hiſtorical and natural truth only be intended, theſe muſt be kept to; though the beſt choice of theſe alſo muſt be made; in both caſes, unity of time, place, and action ought to be obſerved; the compoſition muſt be ſuch as to make the thoughts appear at firſt ſight, and the principal of them the moſt conſpicuouſly; and the whole muſt be ſo contrived as to preſent a grateful object to the eye, both as to the colours and the maſſes of light and ſhadow. Theſe things are ſo evident as not to admit of any diſpute or contradiction; as it alſo is that the expreſſion muſt be ſtrong, the drawing juſt, the colouring clean and beautiful, the handling eaſy and light, and all theſe proper to the ſubject. Nor will it be difficult to

* Aut prodeſſe volunt, aut delectare poetæ;
Aut ſimul & jucunda & idonea dicere vitæ.
HOR. Art. Poet. 333.

know

know aſſuredly what is ſo, unleſs with relation to the juſtneſs of the drawing; but, in the main, whether any thing is lame, diſtorted, miſſhapen, ill proportioned, or flat; or, on the contrary, round and beautiful, is what any eye that is tolerably curious can judge of.

The rules being fixed and certain, whether a picture or drawing hath the properties required is eaſily ſeen; and, when they are diſcovered, a man is as certain he really ſees what he thinks he ſees, as in any other caſe where his own ſenſes convey the evidence to his underſtanding.

And by being accuſtomed to ſee and obſerve the beſt pictures, a man may judge in what degree theſe excellencies are found in that under conſideration; for all things muſt be judged of by compariſon; that will be thought the beſt that is the beſt we know of.

If a picture has any of the good properties I have been ſpeaking of (as none has all) we can ſee which or how many they have, and what they are; and can tell what rank they ought to hold in our eſtimation, and whether the excellencies they have will atone for thoſe they want, as the moſt delicate pencil, the fineſt colouring, the greateſt force (though theſe are valuable) will not make amends for a lewd

or

or profane ſubject, a poor and inſipid way of thinking, lameneſs, or ſtiffneſs, want of harmony, and tameneſs, meanneſs, and ungracefulneſs throughout; for this would be like good language and muſical numbers in a poem without ſenſe, invention, elevation, propriety, and the other requiſites in poetry.

Without principles a man is in the dark, and fluctuates in uncertainty; but having theſe he will be ſteady and clear: If care be taken to keep to them, and that we do not judge by ſomething elſe beſides, or inſtead of them; and moreover that they be ſolid and juſt.

Here now is a very great degree of certainty to be had, in by much the moſt material branch of the ſcience. And that being ſecured, it is comparatively of little conſequence of what hand a work is, or whether it is an original or not.

But here too there are many caſes wherein we can have an equal degree of aſſurance as in the former. Thus it is with reſpect to the beſt works of the beſt maſters; eſpecially when if it is a picture, hiſtory or tradition confirms our opinion; and, if a drawing, it is known for what picture it was made; or when we have an opportunity (which frequently happens) of

comparing one of the ſame maſter and manner with another. In the beſt works of the beſt maſters, not only their characters are evidently ſeen, but here they are exalted above the poſſibility of being copied or imitated ſo as not to be diſcovered. And beſides, providence hath preſerved to us a ſufficient number of the works of theſe excellent men whereon ſecurely to form our ideas concerning them.

A like degree of evidence we have for the works of thoſe who have been great manneriſts, and of whom we have many pictures or drawings. It is true, a tolerable copy of one of theſe maſters may at firſt ſight be taken for an original, as an imitation may be thought to be genuine; but it is very rarely found that the difference is not plainly diſcovered with a little attention; generally it is ſeen immediately and inconteſtably.

There are many ſketches, or other free works, whether pictures or drawings, of whoſe originality we are alſo abſolutely certain.

I pretend not to go through all the caſes wherein this aſſurance, or high degree of perſuaſion is to be had, it would be too tedious. We may be reaſonably well perſuaded in many others; as where we have conſiderable numbers

of genuine works of maſters not ſo excellent, nor whoſe manners are more particularly remarkable. We may alſo be thus perſuaded of thoſe that are not the beſt of the greateſt hands, or manners which they ſeldom uſed; and this by comparing theſe works with thoſe which are indiſputable; for there is in all the maſters, though not in all equally, a certain character and peculiarity that runs through all their works in ſome meaſure, and which a good connoiſſeur knows, though he cannot deſcribe it to another.

This way of compariſon too helps us to a higher degree of perſuaſion than otherwiſe we ſhould have had with relation to the works of maſters of whom we have but a ſmall number: as for example of Dominichino; we know his general character, that is eſtabliſhed by thoſe few of his works that are in Rome, Naples, and elſewhere, and by the writers; as we alſo know the character of Annibale Carracci by the ſame means, but in a greater degree. If then we cannot confront a work, thought to be of the former, with another already judged to be of him, it may be of conſiderable uſe to compare it with one of Annibale, and to ſee what degree and kind of goodneſs it has in that compariſon, and whether that anſwers to the

character of Dominichino, as compared with the other; if it does, it is an additional evidence over and above what we had before.

From theſe we deſcend to more doubtful caſes, which it is troubleſome, and of no great uſe to enumerate; only in general this is certain, that theſe caſes are ſuch as are of the leaſt conſequence, as being for the moſt part with relation to ſome of the worſt works of the better maſters, or thoſe of inconſiderable ones. If it is doubtful whether a picture or a drawing is a copy or an original, it is of little conſequence which it is; and more or leſs in proportion as it is doubtful: If the caſe be exceeding difficult, or impoſſible to be determined, it is no matter whether it is determined or no; the picture, ſuppoſing it to be a copy, muſt be in a manner as good as the original.

After all it muſt be acknowledged, that as in other ſciences there are certain branches of them wherein one man excels, and another in others, but knows little of the reſt; ſo in connoiſſance, no one man can be acquainted with the hands of all, even of the moſt conſiderable maſters; nor with all the manners perhaps of any one of thoſe who have had great variety of them; nor to be very expert in more than a few of theſe:

He

He muſt be contented with a moderate ſkill in many, and to be utterly ignorant in ſome of them: Such is the narrowneſs of our faculties, the extent of the ſcience, or the want of helps and materials for the ſtudy.

However, let it be remembered too, that every connoiſſeur may judge concerning the goodneſs of a picture or drawing as to all the parts of it, except the invention and expreſſion in hiſtory, and the reſemblance in portraits; and theſe no one man can judge accurately of in all caſes, becauſe no one man can be acquainted with all the ſtories or fables, or other ſubjects of the picture, as no one man can know every body.

The variety of opinions of connoiſſeurs, or ſuch as pretend to be ſo, will be made an objection to what I have advanced. And it may ſeem to be a very conſiderable one. But this does not always happen from the obſcurity of the ſcience; it is frequently from ſome defect in the men, or in their management on theſe occaſions, whether weakneſs, raſhneſs, intereſt, &c. ſo as to render theſe their opinions, or what they call ſo, utterly inſignificant.

There are ſome people who never had any opinions of their own, properly ſpeaking; ſome there are, hardly ſome, who have, but have taken up their notions upon truſt; they talk from whim or fancy, or as they have heard others talk, without fixing upon or eſtabliſhing any certain principles, whereby to conduct themſelves in this affair.

Others may have conſidered more, but to as little purpoſe, having gone upon principles falſe or precarious; to which they are bigoted, and reſolve to adhere; never impartially enquiring whether they were in the right or no, or perhaps ſo much as ſuſpecting they were not, or imagining ſuch a thing was poſſible.

As the former never ſtudied at all, theſe have done ſo but in part; they have not dug down to the foundation, but taken the firſt appearance, and thought it was all; theſe, if they have had the opportunity of ſeeing good things, eſpecially if they have been abroad, and above all in Italy, and there picked up the names of ſome of the maſters, and a little of the hiſtory, ſet up for connoiſſeurs of courſe, without taking the requiſite pains to be really what they affect to be. And as truth lies in one ſingle point, and error is infinite, ſuch people as theſe may

may ſtudy, diſpute, and wrangle eternally, and always find plauſible arguments on both ſides, but never get out of the labyrinth.

Again, ſome there are who are incapable of being good connoiſſeurs, let them take what pains they will; thoſe who want genius, and a competent meaſure of underſtanding in this particular ſtudy, however ſenſible men they may be in general, can never penetrate into the beauties or defects of a picture; they can never be judges of the degrees of its goodneſs. And thoſe that know not how to form clear and diſtinct ideas, and have not a memory to retain, and ſkill to manage them, can never be good judges of hands, or know copies from originals.

A man may be a good connoiſſeur in general, and an ingenious man, and yet his judgment in many caſes is not to be regarded; he may be exactly upon the level with thoſe that are neither one, nor the other; there is a certain circle beyond which the wiſeſt men are fools; every man's capacity has its bounds; and it is not every one's talent to know the utmoſt extent of theſe, or to keep himſelf from making excurſions. One connoiſſeur is well acquainted with the hands of ſome of the maſters, or with ſome

of their manners, but not with others; if he pretends to give his judgment in thoſe caſes wherein he is ignorant, it is at leaſt an equal chance but he is wrong; and if he is ſo, another, who may not be a better connoiſſeur in the main though he is ſo in this particular, will probably differ from him. The diſpute then will lie between a wiſe man and a fool, in the preſent caſe; but, that there is a diſpute at all, is not from the obſcurity of the ſcience, but the indiſcretion of one of the diſputants. I have obſerved frequently inſtances of this inequality in ingenious men with ſome ſurprize; I have known the ſame man talk like a very able connoiſſeur at one time, and at another like one that had never conſidered theſe things at all; whether, that he was, at ſuch times, careleſs, or abſent from himſelf, or that he was really out of his depth in thoſe particulars, I know not.

Nor is there after all, indeed, ſo great a difference of opinions in ſome caſes, nor ſo great a conformity in others as there ſeems to be amongſt men.

When one ſays a picture is good and the other the contrary, either may fix upon certain properties wherein both may be in the right; the only

only fault may be in denominating the whole from a part, and not underſtanding one another.

Some men, and indeed all men at ſome times, will give their judgments in haſte, and before they have enough conſidered and recollected themſelves; whether from a natural vivacity of temper, an affectation of appearing to be ready, or from whatever other cauſe; ſuch ſudden opinions are commonly different from what the ſame perſon's more deliberate judgment would have been: But ſuch is the pride and folly of ſome people, that what they have once ſaid, the opinion they have once eſpouſed, they will adhere to, how much in the wrong ſoever they may find themſelves to have been; and this rather than own it was poſſible for them to have been miſtaken; though that is common to the wiſeſt of men, and the perſiſting in a known error none but a fool (in that reſpect at leaſt) is capable of; that has no diſhonour in it, and oftentimes the contrary; this is ſhameful and ridiculous.

Some are exorbitant in the praiſes of what themſelves poſſeſs, and as much depreciate every thing elſe; and this from partiality on the one hand, and pure malice and ill nature on the other; but however it be, an account is

is thus given of pictures, or drawings very different from what will be had from other connoiſſeurs. Juſt as I have ſeen party-men in civil or religious matters repreſent the cauſe they eſpouſe as without ſpot or blemiſh, and that of their opponents as utterly abſurd and miſchievous; whereas the great difference is in their intereſts and inclinations, not in their judgments.

Men frequently diſſemble their real ſentiments in connoiſſance; and this either with an ill intention, or very juſtifiably. The firſt of theſe caſes many a gentleman has known to have happened to his coſt in ſome inſtances; and in more, they never have been, nor ever will be undeceived. There are picture-jockeys who will make what advantage they can of the credulity of others, and their own ſuperior underſtandings in that particular, and to that end aſſert what themſelves believe to be falſe.

Others again put on the maſk, for their own ſakes in part, and partly for the ſakes of other people. We frequently meet with pictures or drawings which we know are not what the owners of them take them to be: What can we do in this caſe? What, but the ſame as every wiſe man muſt, and will do in like circumſtances; and many caſes there are in the world

world where wiſe men are thought to think otherwiſe than they do, becauſe they are too wiſe to tell their real thoughts; the maxim which ſir Henry Wootton recommended to Mr. Milton when he was entering upon his travels "i penſieri ſtretti, ed il viſo ſciolto; Cloſe "thoughts, and open countenance;" is as neceſſary to be obſerved by connoiſſeurs as travellers, or any other ſort of men whatſoever. "Some years ſince a very honeſt gentleman "came to me, and amongſt other diſcourſe, "with abundance of civility, invited me to "his houſe. I have (ſays he) a picture of Ru- "bens, it is a rare good one; there is little "Howard t'other day came to ſee it, and ſays "it is a copy; G—— d———him, if any "one ſays that picture is a copy I'll break his "head; pray Mr. Richardſon will you do me "the favour to come, and give me your real "opinion of it."

Mankind is generally diſpoſed to believe thoſe who tell them what they would have to be true; not becauſe their aſſent is regulated by their paſſions, and differently from the evidence as it appears to them; but they really conceive a better opinion of theſe people, and think their judgment is better than the others; and theſe kind of arguments being what they rely upon in this caſe, they appear ſtronger on this ſide than

than on the other; their minds being alſo more applied to the conſideration of theſe, than thoſe other.

And theſe people have a degree of happineſs by error in this caſe which truth would deprive them of, and conſequently they would ſuffer by it; and truth and error are indifferent to us, but as either tends to our good, that is to our happineſs; or, in other words, the degree of our enjoyments, the whole duration of our exiſtence being taken into the account. In this world we probably enjoy as much from our ignorance and miſtakes, as from our knowledge and true judgments; and we are many times in ſuch circumſtances that truth would make us extremely wretched; ſo that he is miſchievous to us who opens our eyes. A good connoiſſeur therefore, who is withal a plain, ſincere man, has great difficulties many times when he ſees a collection, or a ſingle picture or two; chiefly when gentlemen will urge him to give his opinion of ſomething they have lately acquired, and the honey-moon is not yet over. On theſe occaſions one cannot avoid applying the words of our Saviour to his diſciples; "I have many things to ſay to you, "but you cannot bear them now."

I ſhould be very loath to be an advocate for inſincerity of any kind, and indeed I am very

very unfit for it: If the ſtate of things would admit of it, I ſhould be glad to come into a general agreement, never to conceal the leaſt thought of the heart by any word, look, or action whatſoever; but, as the caſe now ſtands, the diſguiſes I have been pleading for are ſo neceſſary, and they are ſo much the ſame with thoſe complements and civilities univerſally practiſed, that he that is deceived by them, if he ſhould diſcover it, would acquit and approve the deceiver; or they will not deceive at all.

I will however take the liberty to put gentlemen in mind of the great injury they do themſelves by their being ſo tender in regard to their own things, as not to permit every one to ſpeak his mind freely, and without reſerve; not only their judgments by this means are kept low, but they are ſufferers in their purſes; they lie open to be impoſed on, and in fact too often fling away their money upon traſh; they have pleaſure indeed, but they might have that too, and greater, and more durable, without thoſe diſadvantages; nay, with the contrary circumſtances, they might become good connoiſſeurs, and be good oeconomiſts at the ſame time.

Another inſtance of an apparent, but no real difference in the opinions of connoiſſeurs

is

is this, (and it is the laſt I ſhall mention) it is very common for other people (not the owners) to aſk our opinions of pictures, or collections, when there may be good reaſons why we ſhould not be very exact and particular in our anſwers; eſpecially if the things in queſtion are to be diſpoſed of, and the opinion is aſked in a large and mixed company. In this caſe the uſual way is to avoid the mention of any faults, and to ſay what good we can in general terms; which kind of character is indeed no other than a tub flung out for the whale to play with, that the ſhip may get rid of him; for it gives no idea, or none ſhould be taken from thence; the man that has got it is certainly not one jot the wiſer for it, how well ſatisfied ſoever he may be with it.

At other times we may have as good reaſons to be clear and explicit in our characters; if theſe two accounts happen to be compared, (as they often are) there will appear a difference in judgment or inſincerity; when thoſe who gave them were of the ſame mind all along, and ſpake nothing but the truth, though not all the truth.

Some caſuiſts have ſaid, no man is bound to deliver truth to him who has no right to demand it. Of what uſe ſoever this rule may be

be towards the diſentangling us from the perplexities we find in the definition of a criminal lie, thus far is plain and certain, that we are not obliged to give our opinions to thoſe who are not entitled to them, whether by promiſe, gratitude, common juſtice, or prudence.

Underſtanding in a ſcience, as all other natural or acquired advantages is the poſſeſſor's property, which every man ſells at as good a rate as he can for value received or expected. This is common to all orders of men; why connoiſſeurs ſhould be expected to diſtinguiſh themſelves by their generoſity or prodigality, is unaccountable. But it would be altogether abſurd for them to do it, when they ſhall be ſure to create to themſelves enemies by that means, and this only to ſatisfy an inſignificant curioſity, or even to ſerve thoſe who probably will never think themſelves obliged, or remember it afterwards.

Becauſe therefore we cannot otherwiſe avoid ſome peoples' importunity, we are forced to be provided, as with gold and ſilver, to pay our debts, or purchaſe neceſſaries or conveniencies, ſo with half-pence for beggars.

SECT. III.

I am now come to the third branch of argument, whereby I would recommend the love of

of painting, and ſtudy of connoiſſance, upon account of the pleaſure it is capable of affording.

What is beautiful and excellent, is naturally adapted to pleaſe; but all beauties and excellencies are not, naturally, ſeen. Moſt gentlemen ſee pictures and drawings, as the generality of people ſee the heavens in a clear, ſtarry night; they perceive a ſort of beauty there, but ſuch a one as produces no great pleaſure in the mind; but when one conſiders the heavenly bodies as other worlds, and that there are an infinite number of theſe in the empire of God, immenſity, and worlds which our eyes aſſiſted by the beſt glaſſes can never reach, and ſo far remote from the moſt diſtant of what we ſee (which yet are ſo far removed from us, that when we conſider it our minds are filled with aſtoniſhment) that theſe viſible ones are as it were our neighbours, as the continent of France is to Great Britain; when one conſiders farther, that as there are inhabitants on this continent though we ſee them not when we ſee that, it is altogether unreaſonable to imagine that thoſe innumerable worlds are uninhabited and deſart; there muſt be beings there, ſome perhaps more, others leſs noble and excellent than man: When one thus views this vaſt proſpect, the mind is otherwiſe affected than before,

before, and feels a delight which common notions never can administer. So those who at present cannot comprehend there can be such pleasure in a good picture or drawing, as connoisseurs pretend to find, may learn to see the same thing themselves, their eyes being once opened they may be said to obtain a new sense; and new pleasures flow in as often as the objects of that superinduced sight present themselves, which (to people of condition especially) very frequently happens, or may be procured, whether here at home, or in their travels abroad. When a gentleman has learned to see the beauties and excellencies that are really in good pictures and drawings, and which may be learnt by conversing with such, and applying himself to the consideration of them, he will look upon that with joy which he now passes over with very little pleasure, if not with indifference; nay, a sketch, a scrabble of the hand of a great master will be capable of administering to him a greater degree of pleasure than those who know it not by experience can have any conception of, besides the graceful and noble attitudes, the beauty of colours and forms, and the fine effects of light and shadow, which none sees as a connoisseur does, such a one enters farther than any other can do into the beauties of the invention, expression, and other parts of the

work he is conſidering. He ſees ſtrokes of art, contrivances, expedients, a delicacy and ſpirit that others ſee not, or very imperfectly.

He ſees what a force of mind the great maſters had to conceive ideas; what judgment to ſee things beautifully, or to imagine beauty from what they ſaw; and what a power their hands were endued withal, in a few ſtrokes and with eaſe, to ſhew to another what themſelves conceived.

What is it that gives us pleaſure in reading a hiſtory or poem, but that the mind is thereby furniſhed with variety of images? And what diſtinguiſhes ſome authors, and ſets them above the common level, but their knowing how to raiſe their ſubject? The Trojan or Peloponeſian wars, would never have been thought of by us, if a Homer or a Thucydides had not told the ſtories of them, who knew how to do it ſo as to fill the minds of their readers with great and delightful ideas. He who converſes with the works of the beſt maſters, is always reading ſuch admirable authors; and his mind conſequently, in proportion, entertained, and delighted with fine hiſtories, fables, characters, the ideas of magnificent buildings, fine proſpects, &c.

And he sees these things in those different lights, which the various manners of thinking of the several masters sets them; he sees them as they are represented by the capricious, but vast genius of Lionardo da Vinci; the fierce and gigantick one of Michael Angelo; the divine and polite one of Raphael; the poetical fancy of Giulio; the angelical mind of Corregio, or Parmegiano; the haughty, sullen, but accomplished Annibal, the learned Agostino Caracci, &c.

A connoisseur hath this farther advantage, that he not only sees beauties in pictures and drawings which, to common eyes, are invisible; but he learns by these to see such in nature, in the exquisite forms and colours, the fine effects of lights, shadows, and reflections, which in her are always to be found; and from whence he hath a pleasure which otherwise he could never have had *, and which none with untaught eyes can possibly discern: He has a constant pleasure of this kind even in the most common things, and the most familiar to us, so that what people usually look upon with the utmost indifference creates an home-felt

* Nos etiam oculos habemus eruditos, says Cicero to his friend Atticus, when, in Greece, he desires to spare no expence to procure him statues and busts of philosophers, historians and poets, to crown his noble Tusculan Library.

delight in his mind. The nobleſt works of Raphael, the moſt raviſhing muſick of Handel, the moſt maſterly ſtrokes of Milton, touch not people who are without diſcernment.

So, the beauties themſelves of thoſe all-perfect works of the great author of nature are not ſeen but by enlightened eyes, that is, thoſe eyes which are taught to ſee; to theſe they appear far otherwiſe than before they were, ſo, ſo far otherwiſe! that one ſees through a glaſs darkly, (through the groſs medium of ignorance) the other, that of a connoiſſeur, as when the angel had removed the film from Adam's eyes, and purged with euphrane and rue the viſual nerve, ſeeth beauty, divine and human, as far as human may, as we hope to ſee every thing, ſtill nearer to its true beauty and perfection, in a better ſtate; When we ſhall "ſee "what eye hath not ſeen, neither hath entered "into the heart of man."

By converſing with the works of the beſt maſters, our imaginations are impregnated with great and beautiful images, which preſent themſelves on all occaſions in reading an author, or ruminating upon ſome great action, ancient or modern; every thing is raiſed, every thing improved from what it would have been otherwiſe. Nay thoſe lovely images with which our minds

minds are thus enriched ariſe there continually, and give us pleaſure, with or without any particular application.

What is rare and curious, excluſive of any other conſideration we naturally take pleaſure in; becauſe, as variable as our circumſtances are, there is ſo much of repetition in life, that more variety is ſtill deſirable. The works of the great maſters would thus recommend themſelves to us, though they had not that tranſcendent excellency as they have; they are ſuch as are rarely ſeen; they are the works of a ſmall number of the ſpecies in one little country of the world, and in a ſhort ſpace of time. But their excellency being put into the ſcale, makes the rarity of them juſtly conſiderable. They are the works of men like whom none are now to be found, and when there will be, God only knows!

Art, & guides tout eſt dans les camps elyſées.
La Fontaine.

What the old poet Melanthius ſays of Polygnotus (as he is cited by Plutarch in the life of Cimon) may with a little alteration be applied to theſe men in general; it is thus already tranſlated.

This famous painter at his own expence
Gave Athens beauty, and magnificence;
New life to all the heroes did impart;
Embelliſh'd all the temples with his art:
The ſplendor of the ſtate reſtor'd again:
And ſo he did oblige both gods and men.

What ſtill adds to the rarity of the excellent works we are ſpeaking of is, their number muſt neceſſarily diminiſh by ſudden accidents, or the ſlow, but certain injuries of time.

Another pleaſure belonging to connoiſſance is when we find any thing particular and curious: As the firſt thoughts of a maſter for ſome remarkable picture. The original of a work of a great maſter, the copy of which we have already by ſome other conſiderable hand. A drawing of a picture, or after an antique very famous; or which is now loſt; or when we make ſome new acquiſition upon reaſonable terms; chiefly when we get for ourſelves ſomething we much deſired, but could not hope to be maſters of; when we make ſome new diſcovery; ſomething that improves our knowledge in connoiſſance or painting, or otherwiſe; and abundance of ſuch like incidents, and which very frequently happens to a diligent connoiſſeur.

The

The pleaſure that ariſes from the knowledge of hands is not like, or equal to that of the other parts of the buſineſs of a connoiſſeur; but neither is this deſtitute of it. When one ſees an admirable piece of art, it is part of the entertainment to know to whom to attribute it, and then to know his hiſtory; which ariſes, I hope, from a natural juſtice in the human mind, that loves and deſires to pay a little tribute of gratitude where it diſcovers it to be due to that merit of another which it is actually enjoying. The cuſtom of putting the author's picture or life at the beginning of his book, is kindly giving us an opportunity of doing this.

When one is conſidering a picture or a drawing, and at the ſame time thinks this was done by him * who had many extraordinary endowments of body and mind, and was withal a virtuous man and a fine gentleman in his whole life, and ſtill more at his death, expiring in the arms of one of the greateſt princes of that age, Francis I. king of France, who loved him as a friend. Another is of † him who lived a long and happy life, beloved of the

* Leonardo da Vinci.

† Titian.

emperor Charles V. and many others of the firſt princes of Europe. When one has another in his hand, and thinks this was done by ‡ one who ſo excelled in three arts, as that any one of them, in that degree he poſſeſſed them all, had rendered him worthy of immortality; and who moreover dared to contend with his ſovereign (one of the haughtieſt popes ‖ that ever was) upon a ſlight offered to him, and extricated himſelf with honour.

Another is the work of that great ſelf-formed, authentic genius, who was the model of all ſupernatural grace; who alone painted heaven, as ſurely it is; and hath repreſented to human weakneſs the angelic nature. This too by inſpiration! not having had any maſter; or none but whom he left quite out of ſight in the earlieſt progreſſes of his divine pencil. He even never ſaw the works of other great maſters, having always confined himſelf to his native Lombardy, except one ſingle one of Raphael; and a great one indeed that was; his St. Cecilia when brought to Bologna; and then, after conſidering it with long attention, and the admiration it deſerved, he had the ſpirit (and he had a right to that ſpirit) to ſay; 'Well,

‡ Michael Angelo Buonarotta.

‖ Julius II.

'I am

'I am a painter too.' He was so little known to the rest of Italy, that he passed, till very lately, in the opinion of the world, for a low, poor, indigent creature; from the ill information or malice of Vasari, always prejudiced against the Lombard painters, when his character was rescued from its affected obscurity, and his noble birth and connections, and splendid wealth, asserted beyond all possibility of dispute by the indefatigable and learned industry of Lodovico Antonio David, a Milanese painter, and published at Bologna.

Another we shall consider as the work of * him who restored painting when it was almost sunk; of him whom his art made honourable; but who neglecting and despising greatness with a sort of cynical pride, was treated suitably to the figure he gave himself, not to his intrinsic merit; which not having philosophy enough to bear, it broke his heart. Another is performed by † one, who (on the contrary) was a fine gentleman, and lived in great magnificence, and was much honoured by his own and foreign princes; who was a courtier, a statesman, and a painter; and so much all these that when he acted in either character,

* Annibal Caracci.

† Rubens.

that

that ſeemed to be his buſineſs, and the others his diverſion; when one thus reflects, beſides the pleaſure ariſing from the beauties and excellencies of the work, the fine ideas it gives us of natural things, the noble way of thinking one finds in it, and the pleaſing thoughts it may ſuggeſt to us, an additional pleaſure reſults from theſe reflections.

But oh the pleaſure! when a connoiſſeur and lover of art, has before him a picture or drawing, of which he can ſay, this is the hand, theſe the thoughts of * him who was one of the politeſt, beſt-natured gentlemen that ever was; who was beloved and aſſiſted by the greateſt wits, and the greateſt men then at Rome, at a time when politeneſs and all thoſe arts which make life taſte truly agreeable, were carried to a greater heighth than at any period ſince the reign of Auguſtus: of him who lived in great fame, honour, and magnificence, and died univerſally lamented; and even miſſed a cardinal's hat only by dying a few months too ſoon; but was, above all, highly eſteemed and favoured by two popes, the only ones who filled the chair of St. Peter in his time. One (in ſhort) who could have been a Leonardo, a Michael Angelo, a Titian, a Corregio, a Par-

* Raphael.

megiano,

megiano, an Annibal, a Rubens, or any other when he pleaſed, but none of them could ever have been a Raphael.

Such as Diana when ſhe ſprightly leads
The dance on cool Eurota's flow'ry meads;
Or when the goddeſs is delighted more
To chaſe the ſtag, or ſkipping goat, ſhe o're
Huge Tagetus, or Erymanthus flies,
Whilſt hunter's muſick echoes in the ſkies:
A thouſand wood-nymphs evermore are ſeen
Surrounding, and exulting in their queen,
But ſhe diſtinguiſhable is from far,
She taller, and more lovely does appear,
Supremely bright where every one is fair.
Her daughter chaſte Latona ſaw, ſhe ſmil'd,
And with tranſcendent joy her heart was fill'd.

When we compare the hands and manners of one maſter with another, and thoſe of the ſame man in different times: When we ſee the various turns of mind and excellencies; and, above all, when we obſerve what is well or ill in their works, as it is a worthy, ſo it is alſo a very delightful exerciſe of our rational faculties.

And there is one circumſtance in it which ought not to be forgotten, and with which I will cloſe this part of my argument. In law we are tied down to precedents; in phyſick it is dangerous treading untrodden paths; in divinity,

divinity, reaſon though flying before the wind with all her ſails ſpread, muſt ſtop if an article of faith appears: But in this ſtudy ſhe has her full courſe; the mind finds itſelf intirely at liberty, and with her plumes "winnows the buxom "air" (to uſe Milton's ſtile.)

——————— Sometimes
She ſcours the right hand coaſt, ſometimes the left,
Now ſkims with level wing the deep, then ſoars
Up to the empyræan tow'ring high.

This is a pleaſure which none but thinking men can be ſenſible of; and ſuch know it to be one of the greateſt and moſt excellent they can enjoy.

SECT. IV.

I fancy an author and a reader are as two people travelling together; if the book be in manuſcript, the writer takes the other into his own calaſh; if it be printed, it is a common voiture. We have thus been in company longer than I expected, but are now entering upon the laſt day's journey. How my fellow traveller is affected I know not, but I confeſs I am pleaſed I am ſo near home.

It

It was formerly a trite ſaying among the Florentines (and may be ſo ſtill for ought I know) "Coſa fatta capo hà; a thing done has "a head;" that is, till then it has no life, the main circumſtance is wanting, it is good for little. I am always glad when I clap on the head to any thing I undertake, becauſe then that affair is brought to the perfection I can give it; it is ſomething; and then moreover I am at liberty for a new enterprize. When I am got to the end of the preſent work (and I am now come to the laſt general diviſion of it) I ſhall have the ſatisfaction of having done what I could for my own improvement; for he that endeavours to give light to another in any matter ſtrikes up ſome in his own mind, which would never otherwiſe have kindled there; and I ſhall enjoy a conſciouſneſs of having tried to be as uſeful to the public as my circumſtances would enable me to be; I ſaw ſomething of this kind was wanting, and did not perceive that it was very likely any one elſe would take the trouble of it. I have therefore offered my preſent thoughts on this new ſubject, and in as good a method as I could contrive. I am too ſenſible of the fallibility of human underſtanding, and of my own in particular, to be too well aſſured that I am right throughout; and ſhall be glad to better informed, if it appears that I am miſ-

taken

taken in any thing material; and I have ſome pretence to ſuch a favour, having ſo freely communicatad thoſe lights I believed I had acquired, and that, with no ſmall labour and application, in a matter which I conceived might be of uſe to the world. To be miſtaken is a ſin of infirmity, which I pretend not to be exempt from; to perſiſt in the profeſſion of an error after conviction, is the deadly ſin, and which I hope I never ſhall commit.

We will now go on, and ſee what advantages connoiſſance brings along with it.

When I was repreſenting the benefits that might accrue to the public by means of the art of painting and connoiſſance, I proved it had a natural tendeney to reform our manners, refine our pleaſures, and increaſe our wealth, power, and reputation. All theſe advantages every particular connoiſſeur will have, if prudence accompanies that character. As to the two former, no queſtion can be made concerning them; nor of the two latter, ſuppoſing we have thoſe other, together with the improvement of our fortunes. Now, though it is true, a man may employ ſo much money this way, and in ſuch a manner as may not be proportionable to his circumſtances, nor proper, whatever thoſe

are;

are; yet if (as I have ſaid) prudence is mixed with connoiſſance, not only this inconvenience will be avoided, but the contrary advantage obtained; for money may be as well laid out this way as in any other purchaſe whatſoever, it will be as improveable as an eſtate. There is moreover another advantage of connoiſſance, not an inconſiderable one, and that is, the pleaſure it beſtows will probably come in inſtead of others not only leſs virtuous, but more expenſive.

As my diſcourſe is addreſſed to gentlemen in general, I am not to inſiſt upon thoſe advantages which are peculiar to painters and ſculptors, and ſuch other artiſts as have relation to theſe; which advantages are very important; not ſo much from the knowledge of hands, and how to diſtinguiſh copies from originals; (though theſe are ſomething) but to know accurately to diſcover the beauties and defects of a picture or drawing, they muſt readily acknowledge will not a little contribute to their own improvement in their art: This however not being proper to be inſiſted on here I proſecute it no farther; but leave it to be ſeriouſly conſidered by thoſe concerned.

To

To be a connoiſſeur is to have an accompliſhment, which, though it is not yet reckoned amongſt thoſe abſolutely neceſſary to a gentleman, he that poſſeſſes it is always reſpected and eſteemed upon that account.

And, if it be conſidered what qualifications a good connoiſſeur muſt neceſſarily have, it will be found it cannot be otherwiſe. What beautiful ideas! clearly conceived, ſtrongly retained, and artfully managed! What a ſolid and unbiaſſed judgment! What a fund of hiſtorical, poetical, and theological ſcience muſt he have; and which cannot fail by perpetually converſing with good pictures and drawings always to improve and increaſe! I will not go on to multiply particulars; he who has theſe in any tolerable degree will be allowed to have an accompliſhment which all gentlemen ought to have, and will be eſteemed accordingly.

When the Roman power was broken and diſſipated, and arts, empire, and common honeſty were ſucceeded by ignorance, ſuperſtition and prieſt-craft, the diſhonour of human nature was compleated; for it was begun long before in Greece and Aſia. In theſe miſerable times, and for ages afterwards, God knows there were no connoiſſeurs! to write and read

was

was then an accompliſhment for a prince to value himſelf upon. As the ſpecies began to recover themſelves, and to gain more ſtrength, literature and painting alſo lifted up their heads, but however not equally; that degree of vigour that ſerved to produce a Dante in writing, could riſe no higher than a Giotto in painting.

Arts went on in this proportion till the happy age of Raphael; which was productive of ſeveral very great men in all kinds; and theſe parts of the world began to be re civilized.

Our own country

> An old, and haughty nation, proud in arms.
> MILTON.

ſhook off its Gothic ruſt, and began early to imitate its neighbours in politeneſs; in which it has already (for this revolution was but about two hundred years ago) equalled, if not gone beyond the reſt in a great many inſtances. If we go on, the time will come when it ſhall be as diſhonourable for a gentleman not to be a connoiſſeur, as now it is not to be able to read any other than his own language, or not to ſee the beauties of a good author.

Painting is but another ſort of writing; but, like the hieroglyphicks anciently, it is a character not for the vulgar; to read it is not only to know that it is ſuch a ſtory, or ſuch a man, but to ſee the beauties of the thought and pencil, of the colouring and compoſition, the expreſſion, grace and greatneſs that are to be found in it; and not to be able to do this, is a ſort of illiterature and unpoliteneſs.

And accordingly in converſation (when as it frequently does) it turns upon painting, a gentleman who is a connoiſſeur is diſtinguiſhed as one who hath wit and learning is, when theſe are the ſubject of diſcourſe.

On the contrary, not to be a connoiſſeur on ſuch occaſions either ſilences a gentleman and hurts his character, or he makes a much worſe figure in pretending to be what he is not to thoſe who ſee his ignorance.* "See you not," ſaid Zeuxis to Megabyſes prieſt of Diana, "that "the boys that grind my colours, who whilſt "you are ſilent look upon you with reſpect "becauſe of the gold and purple of your gar-"ments, no ſooner hear you talk of what you "underſtand not, but they laugh at you."

* Ælian, Hiſt. Var. II. 2.

Thoſe

Thoſe who are connoiſſeurs have this farther advantage; and what an advantage! what a prerogative! In other caſes as well as in this, and in far greater, they can judge for themſelves; they will have no occaſion to aſk or rely on foreign judgment, like a blind man,

> In power of others, never in their own.
> MILTON.

Thoſe who are connoiſſeurs, I repeat it, becauſe there are ſome who fancy they are ſuch, and are thought to be ſo by others; who nevertheleſs have no better pretence to this character than a ſuperſtitious bigot, or a hypocrite has to true piety. It is an obſervation (as I remember) of my lord Bacon, though it is no matter who has ſaid it, if it be true, "That a little "philoſophy makes a man an atheiſt, a great "deal a good chriſtian:" So a little connoiſſance ſets a man at a greater diſtance from the advantages of a true connoiſſeur than if he had none; if by his too good opinion of his own abilities, or the prejudices of his friends, or flattery of his dependents, he is perſuaded to ſtop there, imagining that little is all. For ſuch a one not only is very apt to make himſelf the ſubject of ridicule to the knowing, whatever he may appear to the ignorant; but beſides, he lies open to thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to find

out, and profit themſelves of ſuch ſelf-ſufficient, abortive connoiſſeurs; who will be ſure to believe themſelves a match for them who are their ſuperiors in this caſe, and conſequently be over-powered by them; whereas he that has no opinion at all of his own ſtrength will keep himſelf out of danger. Gentlemen muſt take care therefore that they do not ſuppoſe themſelves to be connoiſſeurs too ſoon, and without principles and experience; eſpecially if they undertake to collect, and pique themſelves of hands and originals. Though, if I may have the honour to adviſe in this caſe, they ſhould begin with no other view than to have the beſt things; the reſt will fall in in time, and with obſervation and care, if they reſolve to be compleat connoiſſeurs in all reſpects.

At our firſt coming into the world we are but in a low degree even of animal life, growing up however to a more perfect one; and in a ſort of probationary ſtate towards rational being; as, when we arrive at this, we are candidates for a glorious immortality.

With time our ſtrength increaſes naturally, and we become more conſiderable animals; and by obſervation and inſtruction every one acquires a certain ſhare of art and ſcience, partly inſenſibly,

inſenſibly, and partly by direct application; in proportion to which we are advanced in the rational ſtate.

To how minute an origin we owe
Young Ammon, Cæſar, and the great Naſſau!
GARTH.

Homer and Milton once were not divine,
The hand of Raphael could not draw a line,
And Lock and Newton once had thoughts like mine.

But to what height ſoever it is poſſible for human nature to arrive, and howſoever extenſive their capacity may be, every individual is a ſort of centaur, a mixt creature; in ſome reſpects a rational being, in others a mere animal; like the whimſical picture Vaſari ſpeaks of in the life of Taddeo Zuccaro, and which he ſays was then in the collection of the cardinal di Monte; in ſome views you might ſee the portrait of Henry the ſecond of France; in others the ſame face, but reverſed; and in others a moon, and an anagramatical copy of verſes. Every man, thus, may be conſidered in various lights; in one, where he hath ſprung out the fartheſt length from the animal into the rational ſtate; in another, where he has made leſs advances; and ſome, where he remains juſt where he was in his infancy.

However

However different we are from ourſelves, or one man is from another, every man is an epitome of the whole ſpecies; the wiſeſt among us is a fool in ſome things, as the loweſt among men hath ſome juſt notions, and therein is as wiſe as Socrates; ſo that every man reſembles a ſtatue made to ſtand in a nitch; on one ſide it is a Homer, a Plato, a Demoſthenes; on the other, it is a rough unformed piece of ſtone.

For we have not abilities of body and mind, nor time ſufficient allotted to any one of us to make any conſiderable progreſs in many paths, and by much the greater number ſtop ſhort without being excellent in any one art or ſcience, how mean ſoever it be.

Upon this account it is that we are excuſed if in many inſtances we are intirely ignorant; it is no reflection upon us if we are mere animals in ſome views, and depend upon other people, who alſo are low creatures in ſome reſpects, but noble beings in regard to ſuch attainments in which we are defective; herein they are our ſuperiors, our guides, our lords; they are rational beings, and we not, or but in an inferior degree. Thus we are all dependent upon each other to ſupply our ſingle imperfection: But this is no otherwiſe an excuſe than from the neceſſity

ceſſity of things; for it is unworthy a rational being to retain any one of the brute which he can poſſibly diveſt himſelf of.

As it is diſhonourable, ſo it is inconvenient to be in a ſtate of dependence and pupillage: Our condition approaches towards perfection in proportion as we have the neceſſaries and ornaments of life within ourſelves, and need not to have recourſe to foreign aſſiſtance; which cannot be had without parting with ſomething of our own, judged to be equivalent: Beſides, another man will rarely apply himſelf ſo diligently to my concerns as to his own, nor can I be aſſured of his integrity in any caſe; in ſome there is great reaſon to ſuſpect it; and in ſome others it is even unreaſonable to expect any man will open himſelf entirely to me.

It is true, a gentleman may be in ſuch circumſtances as permit him not (conſiſtent with the character of a wiſe man) to apply himſelf to become a very good connoiſſeur: It is not to ſuch as theſe, but to thoſe many who have leiſure and opportunity, I have been taking the liberty to recommend that ſtudy. Such as theſe however

however may think fit to collect pictures or drawings; these have their uses and beauties, even to those who see them but superficially, and these circumstances may justify such a one in submitting to the direction and advice of another upon the best terms, and with as much prudence as he can, as in law, physic, or any other case: But it must be owned, that it is better, it is more for our honour and interest, if, as in all other cases, so in this, we are sufficiently qualified to judge for ourselves.

A man that thinks boldly, freely, and thoroughly; that stands upon his own legs, and sees with his own eyes, has a firmness and serenity of mind which he that is dependent upon others has not, or cannot reasonably have. Nor is he so liable to be imposed upon; whereas others are subject to be driven about by the breath of men, which is always blowing strongly from every point of the compass.

If any one tells a true connoisseur that such a picture or drawing of his is a copy, or not so good, or of so good a hand as he judges it to be; or if some say one thing, and some another,

other, though in times paſt this might have given him much uneaſineſs; now, if he ſees the inconteſtable marks of an original, the unqueſtionable characteriſtics of the hand, and judges of its goodneſs upon principles which he ſees to be ſuch as may be relied on, what is ſaid to the contrary diſturbs not him. So if a drawing or picture be offered him as being of the hand of the divine Raphael, if he is told there is undoubted or infallible tradition for its having been in the Arundel collection, and bought by my lord in Italy, but not till he had had it conſidered by the beſt judges there, and even examined in the academy of painters at Rome, in which there might probably have been ſome, at that time, old enough to have ſeen thoſe who had ſeen Raphael; or, as an Italian writer * in

* But what fidelity ſuch relations have in general, we cannot ſooner learn than from Euſebius, who, near the end of his third book, ſpeaking of Papias, a very ancient writer, one that had heard St. John, and was known to many that had ſeen and been acquainted with others of the apoſtles; but being of a ſhallow wit, and not underſtanding thoſe traditions which he received, filled his writings with many new doctrines and fabulous conceits.—See the whole fine paſſage, Milton, Prelatical Epiſcopacy about the middle.

the hyperbolical ſtile of that nation ſays, " had " ſeen the Lord:" Yet if this judicious connoiſſeur ſees in it no fine thought, no juſt nor ſtrong expreſſion, no truth of drawing, no good compoſition, colouring, or handling; in ſhort neither grace nor greatneſs; but that, on the contrary, it is evidently the work of ſome bungler, the confident pretences concerning it impoſe not on him; he knows it is not, it cannot poſſibly be of Raphael.

FINIS.

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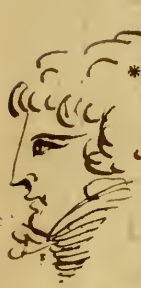

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